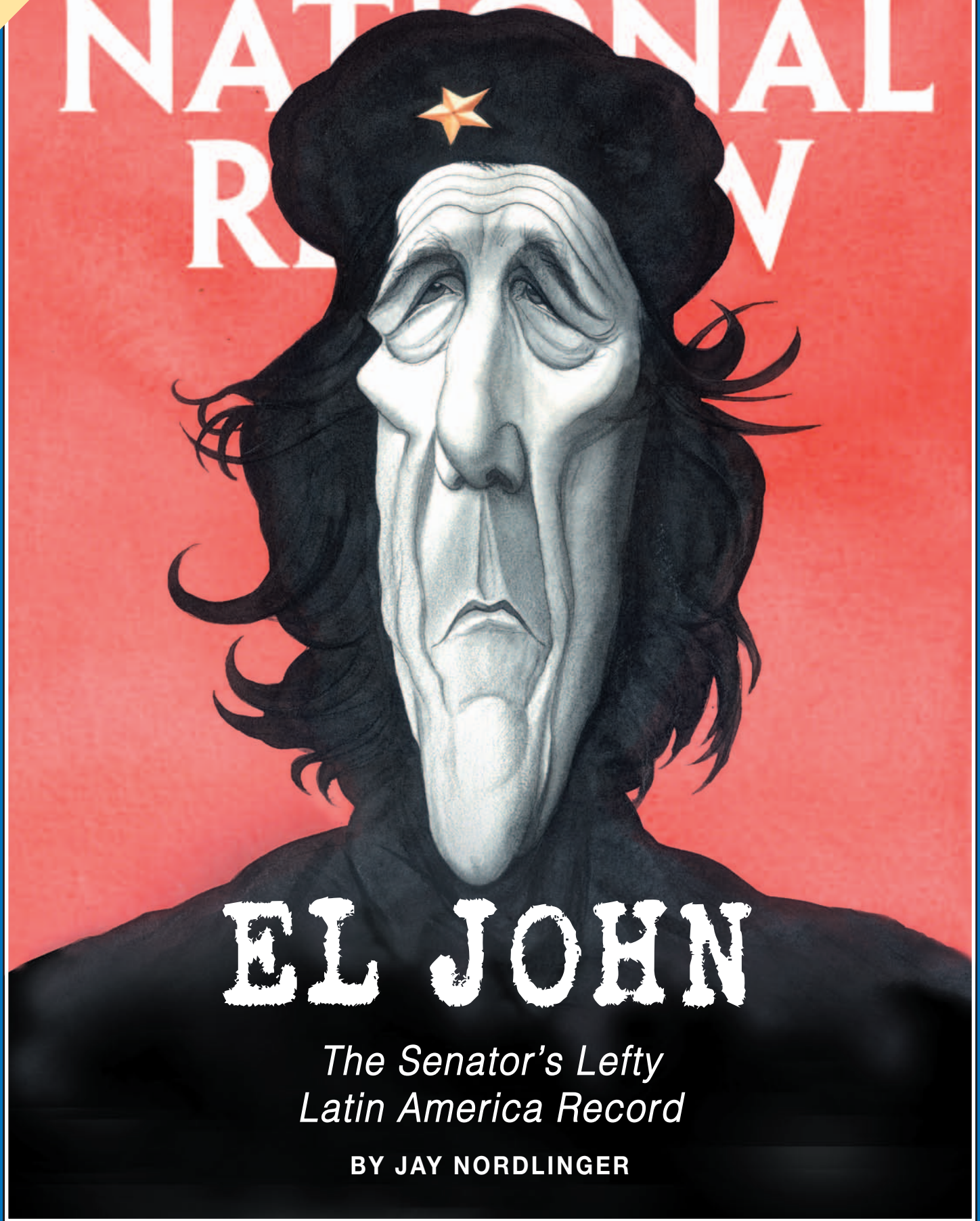
May 17, 2004 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

O'BEIRNE ON DELAY

DAVID FRUM ON BOB WOODWARD

NATIONAL REVIEW



EL JOHN

The Senator's Lefty Latin America Record

BY JAY NORDLINGER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NUCLEAR.

Electricity & Clean Air Today & Tomorrow.

Kids today are part of the most energy-intensive generation in history. They demand lots of electricity. And they deserve clean air.

That's why nuclear energy is so important to America's energy future. Nuclear energy already produces electricity for 1 of every 5 homes and businesses. And our 103 nuclear power plants are emission free so they help keep the air clean.

We need secure, domestic sources of electricity for the 21st Century—and we also need clean air. With nuclear energy, we can have both.

Nuclear energy is the most reliable source of electricity.

NUCLEAR.

THE CLEAN AIR ENERGY

NEI

WWW.NEI.ORG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

MAY 17, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 9

www.nationalreview.com

■ COVER STORY

Back in Sandinista Days . . .

You will recall the 1980s, and that decade's fierce debates over Central America policy. At the heart of these debates was Nicaragua: the Sandinistas, Castro, and the Soviet Union versus the Contras and the Reagan administration (chiefly). John Kerry was an important player in all this. He was part of a group derided by Republicans as 'Dear Comandante' Democrats. *By Jay Nordlinger*

ARTICLES

18 **Why They Hate Him** *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
A world turned upside down.

20 **The Bush Boomlet** *by Stephen Moore*
Not that it gets much credit—yet.

24 **El Chris** *by John J. Miller*
When it comes to Latin America policy—and beyond—Senator Dodd is (almost) in a class by himself.

27 **Back in Sandinista Days . . .** *by Jay Nordlinger*
John Kerry now talks a moderate game; but what does the record say?

31 **They Wish They Had a Hammer** *by Kate O'Beirne*
The need to 'get' Tom DeLay, Congress's most effective Republican.

34 **Supreme Court Rulings in a Time of War** *by David B. Rivkin Jr. & Lee A. Casey*
Three cases, now being tried.

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 For the Record
6 The Week
17 Notes & Asides
37 The Long View
38 Help!
46 Poetry
50 Shelf Life
54 On the Right
56 Happy Warrior

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

40 Inside Job—*David Frum* . . . Plan of Attack, *by Bob Woodward*

44 Crucible of Freedom—*Michael Potemra* . . . The Reformation: A History, *by Diarmaid MacCulloch*

46 Remember Them—*David Pryce-Jones* . . . Rising '44: The Battle for Warsaw, *by Norman Davies*

48 Dr. Doctrine—*Matthew J. Franck* . . . Saying What the Law Is: The Constitution in the Supreme Court, *by Charles Fried*

49 A Core, A Gap, A Map—*Mackubin Thomas Owens* . . . The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century, *by Thomas P. M. Barnett*

52 City Desk: Local Favorite—Richard Brookhiser plays with his food.

COVER: *Roman Genn*

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 2004. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

May 17 issue; printed April 29

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editors
Dorothy McCartney / Christopher McEvoy
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Deputy Managing Editor Alexander Rose
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva

Associate Editors
Meghan Clyne / Rachel Z. Friedman
Research Director John J. Virtes
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Jane Jolis
Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Meghan Keane
Jane Buckley Smith
Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire
W. H. von Dreele / Rod Dreher
David Frum / Roman Genn
Jonah Goldberg / John Hillen
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Stephen Moore / John Simon

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
Editor Kathryn Jean Lopez
Production Manager Aaron Bailey

PRESIDENT
Thomas L. Rhodes

EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo
Tom Bethell / James Bowman
David Brudnoy / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
William A. Rusher / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
Ralph de Toledano / Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associate Publisher Jack Fowler Sr.
Assistant to the Publisher Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Irina Dynkevich
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Timothy Wolff
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226

ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Representative Jim Fowler
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER
Edward A. Capano

letters to the editor

WAL-MART WARS

Jay Nordlinger calls Wal-Mart "gloriously, unabashedly, star-spangledly American" ("The New Colossus," April 19). But American virtues like truth, honor, and fair play do not come to mind when thinking of Wal-Mart. I was president of a five-and-dime chain that at one time had hundreds of stores throughout the country. Then Wal-Mart came onto the scene and put its competition out of business by any means possible. They have been sued in several states for selling goods below cost until their competitors went under. This is what happened to us.

I don't feel that being the biggest, regardless of how it's done, should be held up as an example of American greatness. Through predatory pricing and unfair competition, Wal-Mart has wiped out many stores and many dreams.

Alan Veives
Chicago, Ill.

Several years ago, a developer announced intentions to build a new shopping complex on a prime intersection right in the heart of our city's most affluent area. Excitement was high as speculation swirled regarding the anchor tenant. Could it be Nordstrom? Saks Fifth Avenue, maybe? Then the announcement came—the anchor tenant would be . . . Wal-Mart! You can imagine the reaction. News of impending Armageddon might have been better received. Suddenly, all manner of complaints emerged, from too much traffic congestion to increased crime.

I am happy to report that reason somehow prevailed and the shopping center was built, Wal-Mart and all. Every time I patronize the store now I have to chuckle: The critics were right about one thing—there has been an increase in traffic congestion. You can hardly find a space in the parking lot, what with all the Mercedes-Benzes, BMWs, and Lexuses clogging it up!

Thomas Smith
Charlotte, N.C.

I moved from Houston to the country a little over five years ago. Wal-Mart was beginning to make inroads in the Houston market at that time but was not the dominant retailer. What I have found living in a rural area is that Wal-Mart makes it possible for me to have a higher standard of living. The stores provide quality merchandise at very good prices, sometimes extraordinary prices. When Wal-Mart decides it is time to get rid of slow-selling merchandise, you can find yourself buying good slacks for $5 and shoes for $4. If it were their intent to engage in predatory pricing so they could drive out the competition and raise prices, they still have not gotten around to it.

If Democrats really want to lose votes, let them try taking away Wal-Mart from rural America.

Merv Benson
Washington, Texas

Two things: 1) There is a standard small-town joke: "I want to be buried in the Wal-Mart parking lot, so my wife will visit my grave three times a week," and 2) When we visited Manhattan, one thing that my wife couldn't figure out was, "Where do the people shop?" I pointed out that there were stores all up and down the streets, but she was adamant: "No, where do the real people shop for real stuff?"

Dave Taggart
Calhoun, Ga.

MEET THE MARINES

Rich Lowry has written a beautiful and inspiring piece on Marine recruits ("Few, Proud, Remarkable," May 3). Among the important characteristics he touches on is "alacrity"—a valuable asset in the military, sports, and business. More journalists, of all political stripes, should follow Lowry's example and visit the men and women in training in all branches of service. They would get a vastly different view of America from the one they now imbibe from one another's writings.

Stanley Goldstein
Briarcliff Manor, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Case for Operation Iraqi Freedom

HOOVER DIGEST
RESEARCH AND OPINION ON PUBLIC POLICY

SUBSCRIBE
Receive four quarterly issues at the introductory rate of $20.

FREE ISSUE
Receive a complimentary issue of the latest Digest without obligation.

Call 800.935.2882 or visit www.hooverdigest.org

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

A year after the elimination of Saddam Hussein's murderous dictatorship, shortly before the Coalition Provisional Authority hands over power to the Iraqi people, and with violence in Iraq on the upswing, **how do the Bush administration's arguments in support of Operation Iraqi Freedom hold up?**

Critics assert that those arguments amount to two lies—Saddam's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) posed an imminent threat, and Iraq cooperated with Al Qaeda in executing the 9/11 attacks. In fact, the administration put forth five main arguments in favor of military action. Those arguments were advanced by the administration with varying intensity and frequency—and they hold up, separately and together, reasonably well.

First, in the run-up to war, the Bush administration highlighted the intolerable danger Saddam's WMD posed. Its claims were consistent with Clinton administration claims dating back to 1998, and both were rooted in the best available intelligence. Although we now know that the intelligence was flawed, the Kay report confirmed dozens of Iraqi weapons programs and documented Saddam's intention to restart programs when possible. Dick Cheney's assertion in the summer of 2002 that the risk of inaction in Iraq was greater than the risk of action was debatable. But based on the evidence at hand, and the terrifying new realities September 11, 2001, made manifest, it was a reasonable judgment.

Second, on September 21, 2001, in a nationally televised speech to a joint session of Congress, President Bush declared that the war on terror extended to terrorist networks around the world and to "any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism." Although a link to 9/11 has not been established, Saddam's trafficking in terror is incontestable—among other bloody ventures Iraq had been, until the fall of Baghdad, Hamas's biggest financial backer.

Third, the United States invoked international law. In November 2002, the administration persuaded the U.N. Security Council to unanimously pass resolution 1441, which warned of "serious consequences" if Iraq failed to provide a thorough accounting of its weapons and weapons programs and to completely disarm. In December, U.N. weapons inspector Hans Blix reported that Iraq had failed to provide the required account. In March 2003, the United States upheld the Security Council's integrity by implementing 1441 and sixteen previous resolutions flouted by Iraq.

Fourth, humanitarian considerations counseled action. In addition to the hundreds of thousands he consigned to mass graves, and the dissenters his henchmen fed alive into meat grinders, Saddam exploited our containment regime to divert oil-for-food money to his palaces and weapons programs, leading to the deaths, according to the United Nations Children's Fund estimates, of 60,000 Iraqi children a year.

Fifth, **removing Saddam promotes democracy in the Middle East, an appealing prospect save perhaps for those in the region who rule by fear** and for those around the world who profit from doing business with tyrants.

Reasonable people can differ. Arguably, containment better served U.S. national security interests, in part because the establishment of democracy in Iraq may yet prove beyond our competence. The Bush administration has fallen short in educating public opinion—both domestically and internationally regarding Operation Iraqi Freedom. But what cannot be denied, all things considered, is the reasonableness of the case to be made.

—Peter Berkowitz

Peter Berkowitz is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and an associate professor of law at the George Mason University School of Law.

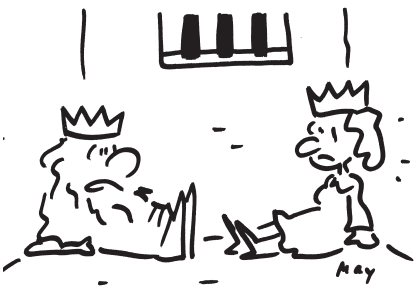
HOOVER INSTITUTION

. . . ideas defining a free society

Hoover Institution Stanford University Stanford, CA 94305-6010 Tel: 877.466.8374 Fax: 650.723.1687 info@hoover.stanford.edu www.hoover.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the record



"Well, honesty sure isn't the best foreign policy."

■ In *Washington Post*/ABC News poll of registered voters, President **Bush** leads Sen. **John Kerry**, 48 percent to 43 percent, with independent candidate **Ralph Nader** at 6 percent. . . . Bush: "If al-Qaeda were a board of directors, the chairman and vice chairman might still be out there, but the middle management is gone." . . . "I think that we do have to take very seriously the thought that the terrorists might have learned, we hope, the wrong lesson from Spain," says national security adviser **Condoleezza Rice**, on Fox News. "I think we also have to take seriously that they might try during the cycle leading up to the election to do something." . . . In AP poll, 67 percent say they expect terrorist attack before Election Day. . . . **George Tenet** passes **Richard Helms** to become second-longest-serving CIA director and approaches record set by **Allen Dulles**. . . . . Sen. **John McCain** (R., Ariz.): "In Iraq our national security interests and our national values converge. Iraq is truly the test of a generation, for America and for our role in the world. Faced with similar challenges, previous generations of Americans have passed such tests with honor. It is now our turn to demonstrate that our power, ennobled by our principles, is the greatest force for good on earth today. Iraq's transformation into a secure democracy and a force for freedom in the greater Middle East is the calling of our age." . . . CNN/*USA Today* poll: 57 percent say sending troops into Iraq was not mistake—but 57 percent also don't think U.S. will establish "stable democracy" there.

■ Kerry on his anti-war activism, on CBS: "I was young. It was an emotional time, and we were all caught up in it. And I wish I'd sort of, you know, paid greater tribute to some of the service of people and drawn the line in a better way." . . . Navy veteran **Steve Hayes**, who served with Kerry in Vietnam, in *Washington Post*: "Kerry could have remained in Vietnam with the rest of us, but he made a formal request to be reassigned to the States, as three Purple Hearts entitled him to do. I remember colleagues leaving Vietnam early . . . in body bags. I remember some being medevaced back home because of serious wounds. I recall no one, except Kerry, asking that his tour be cut short and that he be sent home." . . . Kerry's former commanding officer, **Grant Hibbard**, on wound for which Kerry received first Purple Heart, in *Boston Globe*: "It resembled a scrape from a fingernail." . . . Kerry critics start vietnamveteransagainstkerry.com.

■ Rep. **Dick Gephardt** (D., Mo.): "I am more frightened about our country and the problems we face around the world than I've ever been." . . . **Al Gore** on global warming: "If we continue, this trend will create the worst catastrophe known to our species." . . . In Alaska, Democratic Senate candidate **Tony Knowles** attacks Kerry's views on Arctic drilling: "On the issue of responsible development of the coastal plain and meeting America's energy needs, John Kerry is just wrong." . . . Sen. **Hillary Clinton** (D., N.Y.) on whether she'd serve as Kerry's running mate, on NBC: "No . . . it's just not anything I want to do." . . . Sen. **Joe Lieberman** (D., Conn.) on whether he'd run for vice president again, on CNBC: "No, I'm not available. Once was glorious, but once is enough."

■ In *Tulsa World* poll on Oklahoma Senate race, former Rep. **Tom Coburn** leads GOP primary field but narrowly trails Rep. **Brad Carson** (D.), 37 percent to 35 percent. . . . Senate historians can't recall time when one Senate leader has traveled to another's state to campaign against him, but majority leader **Bill Frist** (R., Tenn.) plans visit to South Dakota to support former Rep. **John Thune** (R.) against minority leader **Tom Daschle** (D.). . . . Businessman **Pete Coors** enters GOP Senate primary in Colorado. . . . Sen. **Chuck Hagel** (R., Neb.) on whether draft is needed: "I don't know, but I think we should realistically start exploring what our options are." . . . Sen. **Norm Coleman** (R., Minn.) says he hopes to succeed Sen. **George Allen** (R., Va.) as chairman of National Republican Senatorial Committee.

■ Banner ad featuring former mayor **Ed Koch** as New York City prepares for GOP convention: "The Republicans are coming. Make nice." . . . In *U.S. News & World Report*/PBS poll, 48 percent of evangelicals say politicians who support gay marriage would not necessarily lose their vote. . . . Rep. **Tom Tancredo** (R., Colo.) on Bush immigration plan and rising numbers of illegal-alien entries, in *Washington Times*: "It doesn't take a rocket scientist to tell you the president's speech was the catalyst for lots of folks to make their way north and try to get into this country in order to get what they accurately believe to be amnesty." . . . Pro-life teachers complain about National Education Association's using their union dues to finance pro-abortion causes, such as March for Freedom of Choice.

■ Afghan president **Hamid Karzai**: "Afghanistan sees its future in the free market and investment, and so Afghanistan needs investment, and Afghanistan will cooperate with anyone who comes to invest." . . . President **Robert Mugabe** of Zimbabwe celebrates 24th anniversary of end of white rule with speech condemning "bloodthirsty" critics, such as Bush and British prime minister **Tony Blair**.

■ **Craig Kilborn**: "Kerry shocked the crowd when he ended his speech by asking, 'Where are the rich widows at?'" **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

50 Years Later, *Brown v. Board of Education* Tells Us to 'Get *in the* Way'

Kurt M. Landgraf,
President & CEO, ETS

Fifty years ago, a group of parents changed America, winning a court case that overturned racial segregation in the public schools. The U.S. Supreme Court's May 17, 1954, decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

But as history students know, we study the past to learn about the present and build a better future. *Brown*'s lesson for today is that, for all the progress it reflected and encouraged, America's schools remain menaced by segregation. The division now is not just between Black and White, but between White and non-White; urban, suburban and rural; native and immigrant; affluent and poor. These divisions are reflected in the achievement gap.

According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress by the end of 12th grade Black and Hispanic students' reading and math skills are roughly equal to those of eighth-grade White students. Research by Harvard University's Civil Rights Project shows minority students have no better than a 50-50 chance of graduating high school. Perhaps saddest of all, the Harvard research found that outside the South and Southwest, most White students have little contact with minority students.

The conclusion for today, then, is much the same as it was 50 years ago: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

U.S. Rep. John Lewis of Georgia, one of America's leading civil rights figures, recently spoke with one of my ETS colleagues. Lewis said he became involved in sit-ins to be an obstacle to inequality. As he put it, "That was my way of saying, 'We must get in the way.'"

If we're to close the achievement gap and fulfill the mandate of *Brown*, we, too, must "get in the way" of the status quo. Raising standards and strengthening accountability in every public school are part of that effort. So, too, are assessments, which tell us whether students know what they are required to know, and so help us improve teaching and learning.

The *Brown* decision demonstrates that individuals fired by a passion for justice can change the world. It is the challenge of our time to finish what *Brown* began. As John Lewis says, "We should teach our young people that we all live in this country together, that we all live in the same house. I call it the American house."

Listening. Learning. Leading. ETS®

Continue the conversation. Log On. Let's Talk. www.ets.org/letstalk1.html

Educational Testing Service

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

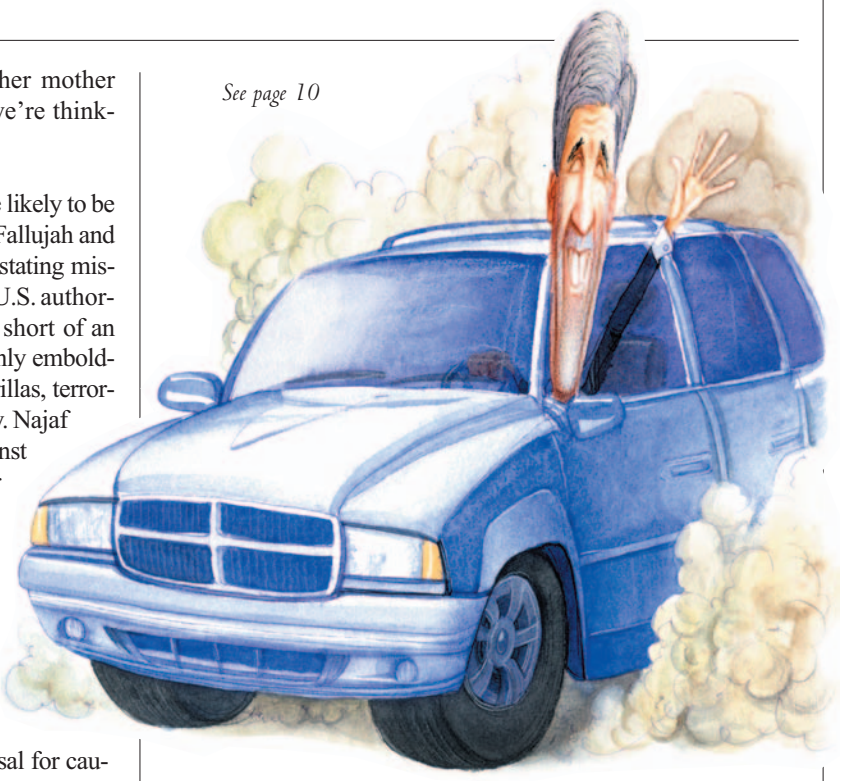
THE WEEK

■ Rep. Maxine Waters (D., Calif.) regrets that her mother lacked the right to an abortion. We're thinking, we're thinking . . .

■ Iraq is at a turning point, with the immediate future likely to be determined by how we handle the confrontations in Fallujah and Najaf. It is essential that Iraqis learn that it is a devastating mistake to be an enemy of the United States. In Fallujah, U.S. authorities have tried their utmost to solve the standoff short of an all-out assault. These efforts have failed, and have only emboldened the insurgents. An assault to wipe out the guerrillas, terrorists, and other thugs defying us there is now necessary. Najaf presents a more delicate situation. An offensive against the forces of Moqtada al-Sadr could turn the broader Shiite community against us. We should rely on Shiite leaders to cut al-Sadr down to size, which they have been doing. On the broader political track, U.N. representative Lakhdar Brahimi has come up with a plan for the June 30 transition that involves appointing a new interim government and creating a consultative assembly. This plan is reasonable in its outline. In fact, the mechanism for creating the assembly roughly resembles the original U.S. proposal for caucuses in advance of elections scheduled for January 2005. But we must guard against any perceived tilt against the Shiites by the Sunni Brahimi, since the fate of the U.S. occupation rests ultimately in the hands of the majority Shiites. The next few weeks are crucial. The administration's task is to see the occupation through, with deftness and especially realism, so that we can avoid disaster in Iraq and create a chance for a better future for that country and the Middle East at large.

■ Should photographers be allowed to snap pics of the flag-draped coffins of American servicemen as they arrive at Dover Air Force Base? Since 1991 the Pentagon has said no, though a website, the Memory Hole, filed a Freedom of Information Act request for pictures taken by the Defense Department itself, which was briefly granted (then revoked), and the shots went far and wide. Under the Pentagon policy, coffins may be photographed with whatever degree of thoroughness the families of the slain think proper at burial services across the country. But that would require the media to get their images from a multitude of sources. It would also deprive them of the shot of multiple coffins in their factory-like hangar setting: an image of industrialized death that is, in two senses, a cheap shot (cheap to arrange, and cheaply polemical). John Kerry's suggestion that publishing pictures from Dover would "honor" the dead "to the fullest measure" is absurd; the Memory Hole website, and several media outlets, were so reverent that they used images of coffins of the crew of the space shuttle *Columbia*, which they had obtained by mistake. We should be clear about the motives

See page 10



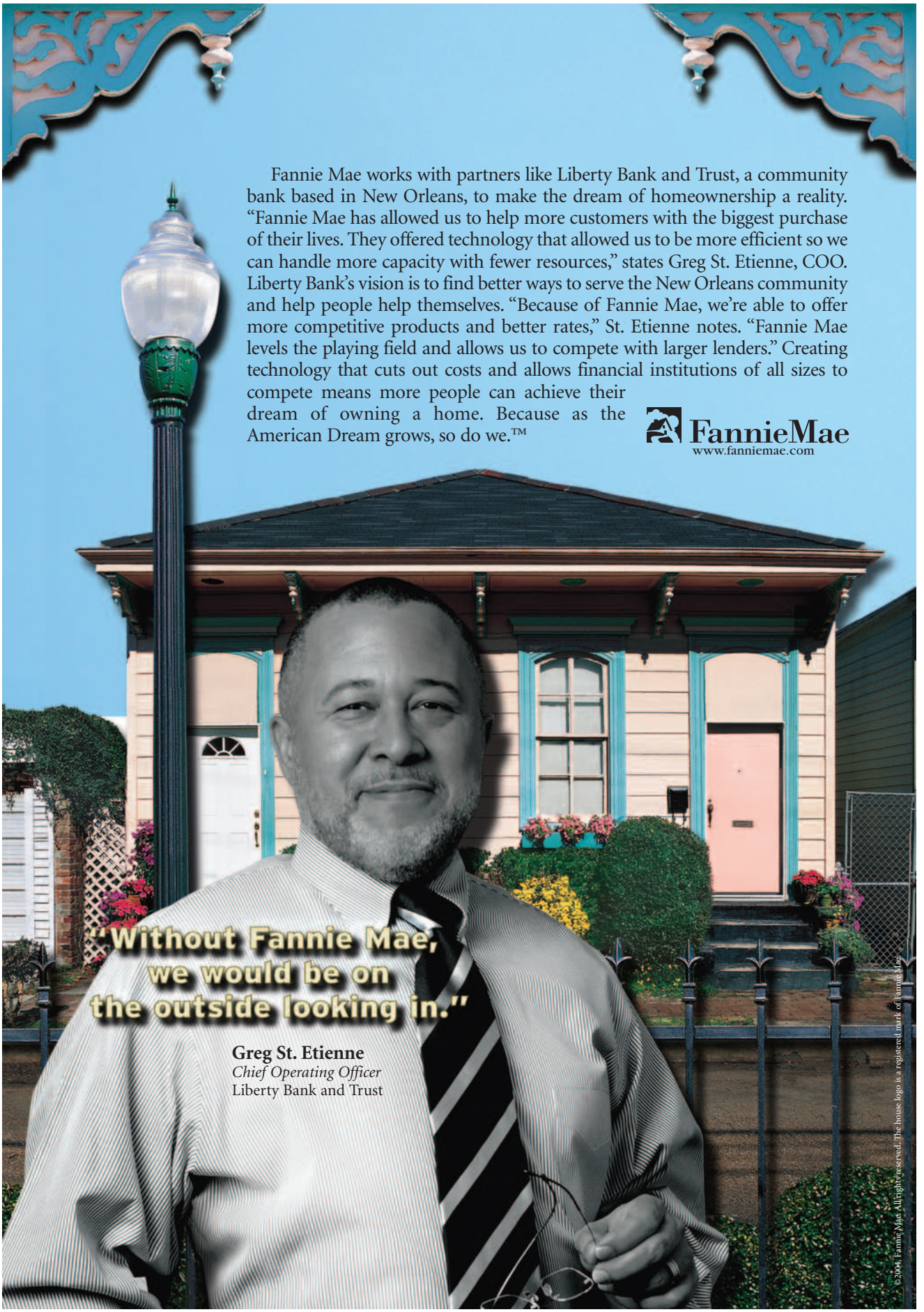
ROMAN GENN

on both sides of this controversy: The Pentagon, and the Bush administration, does not want the deaths of American servicemen to seem meaningless; the media and the Left simply want to hurt the administration.

■ Bob Woodward has published a book, and Washington stops in its tracks. Woodward's latest, *Plan of Attack*, examines the run-up to the second Iraq War. Agitating the capital at press time are these claims: The Bush administration diverted money appropriated for emergency military spending to planning the invasion of Iraq (considering the fumbles that have occurred there, perhaps they should have diverted more money); Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the Saudi ambassador, agreed that Saudi Arabia would lower gas prices to help the American economy, and incidentally Bush's re-election (Saudis doing something in the Terror War besides producing terrorists would be news indeed); Bandar learned that the Iraq War was a go before Colin Powell did (wouldn't it be more interesting to know why our secretary of state was fooled by Dominique de Villepin, and stonewalled by the Turks?). Journalism is the first draft of history, and Woodward is an impressive draftsman. But his books are also the last word in hoopla and finger-pointing. Could our governing classes bear down on the war they are now waging, and the ones ahead?

■ Pat Toomey ran a valiant campaign, and came agonizingly close to unseating liberal Republican senator Arlen Specter. But

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


Fannie Mae works with partners like Liberty Bank and Trust, a community bank based in New Orleans, to make the dream of homeownership a reality. "Fannie Mae has allowed us to help more customers with the biggest purchase of their lives. They offered technology that allowed us to be more efficient so we can handle more capacity with fewer resources," states Greg St. Etienne, COO. Liberty Bank's vision is to find better ways to serve the New Orleans community and help people help themselves. "Because of Fannie Mae, we're able to offer more competitive products and better rates," St. Etienne notes. "Fannie Mae levels the playing field and allows us to compete with larger lenders." Creating technology that cuts out costs and allows financial institutions of all sizes to compete means more people can achieve their dream of owning a home. Because as the American Dream grows, so do we.™
FannieMae
www.fanniemae.com
"Without Fannie Mae, we would be on the outside looking in."
Greg St. Etienne
Chief Operating Officer
Liberty Bank and Trust
©2004, Fannie Mae. All rights reserved. The house logo is a registered mark of Fannie Mae.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

he was unable to overcome the efforts of the White House, Rick Santorum, and the rest of the Republican establishment to keep Specter in the Senate. The Republicans thought that Specter was a better bet for holding the seat in November. We continue to believe that Toomey could have won, that the Republicans are likely to keep control of the Senate, and that Specter's contributions to the Republican majority are negative. Specter will now, in all likelihood, have seven more years in office. He will probably become chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and he will no longer need to worry about the sentiments of Pennsylvania Republicans. When Specter torpedos conservative nominees to the Supreme Court, we will know whom to thank.

■ The March for Women's Lives gathered an impressive crowd of people in Washington, D.C. It was actually a march for "abortion rights," which makes the official title both macabre and revealing. Even the most passionately committed partisans of this alleged right find it politic to downplay its name. The marchers are out of step with the public. A small majority of Americans would prohibit abortion generally while making exceptions for rape, incest, and the life of the mother. A large majority would prohibit second- and third-trimester abortions, and reject taxpayer funding of abortion. More and more Americans consider themselves pro-life. No wonder Kerry, in a new ad on abortion, couldn't bring himself to use the word. "The Supreme Court is just one vote away from outlawing a woman's right to choose," according to the ad. Kerry surely knows that six of the nine justices are committed to *Roe* v. *Wade*, and that overturning *Roe* would not prohibit abortion nationally. Any cause that can bring perhaps a million people to the nation's capital has real political strength. But the habitual resort of this movement to deception suggests that its weaknesses are enduring.

■ John Kerry famously returned from the Vietnam War to denounce the men he had served with as war criminals who routinely committed "atrocities" with the full knowledge and approval of their superiors. The media are finally pressing Kerry on whether he stands by these allegations (see Mackubin Thomas Owens's piece "They Charge War Crimes" in the last issue for a primer on their falsity). Kerry, typically, is straddling. On *Meet the Press*, he said, "I think some of the language that I used was a language that reflected an anger. It was honest, but it was in anger, it was a little bit excessive." He continued, "I'm not going to walk away from that, but I wish I had found a way to say it in a less abrasive way." This won't do. The issue isn't Kerry's emotions at the time or the specific phrasing of his charges. If he believes what he said was true (as he still apparently does), all Vietnam veterans should know that John Kerry thinks they participated in a great criminal enterprise. If Kerry now realizes he was mistaken, he should straightforwardly apologize. Expect more straddling.

■ The 9/11 Commission was supposedly necessary to create accountability for federal agencies that have lost sight of their public mission and become self-protecting bureaucracies. Too bad the commission has become one of those agencies itself. How else to explain the closing of the commission's ranks behind Jamie Gorelick? The fact that her law firm is helping the Saudi royal family fend off a lawsuit by families of 9/11 victims raises questions about whether she should be on the commission in the first place. But her unsuitability for the position became obvious when John Ashcroft testified that Gorelick, when she worked in Janet Reno's Justice Department, had made it harder for intelligence and law enforcement to collaborate. Gorelick took to the op-ed pages of the *Washington Post* to dance around the charge and to accuse Ashcroft of dissembling under oath. She belongs at the commission hearings—on the other side of the table. In response to Republican complaints that Gorelick should recuse herself from certain areas of the investigation or resign, commission chairman Tom Kean said, "People ought to stay out of our business." The commissioners have taken to calling one another "brother" and themselves collectively "brethren." It is swell that they are all getting along so well. We hope that the FBI, the CIA, and the other agencies they are investigating are a little less cozy, and a lot more serious.

■ Way back in December, John Kerry said he was for "replacing the Patriot Act with a new law that protects our people and our liberties at the same time." He outlined specific ways he would roll back that law. His December speech was already something of a flip-flop, since he had voted for the act only two years prior. Now he is flipping again, saying that what he wants is a tougher law that gives law enforcement more powers. Funny, that's not how it sounded five months ago. He has not repudiated his earlier advocacy of a retrenchment in the law. Nor has he repeated it. What's changed? Back in December, Kerry was playing catch-up to Howard Dean, who wanted to repeal the act altogether. Now he is fighting the general election, and Bush has been zinging him for not supporting Patriot, so the civil-libertarian rap has been laid aside. The opponents of the Patriot Act have been very vocal, and are influential among liberals, but the general public figures that law enforcement needed additional powers after September 11. Judging from the artfully vague comments he made in December, John Kerry knew that all along.

■ You may recall that, back in 1999, an official in the District of Columbia government was fired for saying "niggardly." Ignoramuses had taken it as a racial slur. (The official, after an agonizing period, was reinstated.) In more recent days, Donald Rumsfeld, responding to questions about troop allocation in Iraq, said, "People are fungible"—which is perfectly true, in this context. But there are ignoramuses—or pretend ignoramuses—about "fungible," too. John Kerry painted Rumsfeld's statement as "further indication of this administration's continuing disregard for the men and women who put their lives on the line every day in Iraq." Yes, because we all know how Bush and Rumsfeld *hate* those men and women. "Secretary Rumsfeld has it wrong," continued Kerry. "Troops are not chess pieces to be moved on a board, they are real people with families and loved ones who depend on them." Rep. Charles Rangel was moved to say, "Secretary Rumsfeld may see these troops as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Join the U.S. Navy and Proud Americans in Warning: "DON'T TREAD ON ME"

We invite you to proudly display this American symbol and send a message to the world that America will stand up to its aggressors and preserve liberty.

Eagle Special Products has joined with the United States Navy Memorial Foundation to bring you a special edition First Navy Jack Flag. Created to meet the standards of flag construction established by the United States Navy Memorial Foundation, each 3' x 5' flag in this edition is handmade, piece-constructed together, and then marrow-stitched.

We have also arranged for each First Navy Jack Flag to be hand-raised according to tradition over the U.S. Navy Memorial. Your flag will be accompanied by a certificate documenting that your flag was flown over the U.S. Navy Memorial.

** A portion of the proceeds of each sale goes to support the U.S. Navy Memorial Foundation and the Naval Heritage Center.*
** Pole not included*

The U.S. Navy is relying on a historic icon to remind the world of America's strength and courage.

The Rattlesnake has been a favorite symbol of independence throughout America's history. Adopted as a uniquely American icon by early patriots, such as Benjamin Franklin, the rattlesnake represents American unity. Individually, its rattles have no sound, but united they can be heard by all. And while it does not strike unless threatened, once provoked the deadly rattlesnake never surrenders.

The rattlesnake was used as a symbol of resistance to British repressive acts in Colonial America. Flags bearing rattlesnakes and bearing the simple warning "Don't Tread on Me" were flown on the first ships of the Continental Navy in the Delaware River in 1775.

Today, as America faces unprecedented threats, this historic symbol of our founding has emerged as a reminder of our origin and true courage. The Secretary of the Navy, Gordon R. England, has ordered all U.S. Navy ships to fly the First Navy Jack in place of the Union Jack for the duration of the Global War on Terrorism. In a memo to all ships and stations, England explained, "The temporary substitution of this Jack represents a historic reminder of the nation's and Navy's origin and will to persevere and triumph."

CALL NOW: 1-888-486-2000

☑ **Yes!** Please send me _____ U.S. Navy Jack Flag(s) that have flown over the U.S. Navy Memorial at $49.95 each plus $4.95 shipping and handling.

_____ Total Amount Enclosed.

❑ My check is enclosed (payable to **Eagle Special Products**)

or

❑ Charge my: ❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard ❑ ❑ DISCOVER NOVUS

Card _____ Exp. _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

E-mail _____

To receive monthly bulletin with product specials, book specials, and free excerpts from unreleased books

Please mail to:
Eagle Special Products • P.O. Box 97198 • Washington, DC 20090-7198
1-888-486-2000 or Fax (202) 216-9676

www.NRBookService.com

©2004, EPI

Priority Code: HC6205 ESP730

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Week...

'fungible' because they are not the people that he knows or the children of people in the administration." We will say the minimum: that it's hard to respect the Democratic party when they act this way.

■ Kerry was blasting away at President Bush, for being too much the "unilateralist." Said the senator, "His father did a brilliant job of it"—dealing with foreign governments, that is. "We need to do the kind of alliance-building that we have done traditionally." So GHWB was brilliant, huh? Kerry, natch, opposed the 1991 Gulf War, with everything in his long, leftist body. Of course, the first Bush had *his* father held against him, too. Whenever he did something vaguely conservative, Democrats—especially those of a certain age—would say, "Oh, Prescott Bush was such a nice, moderate man. He loved blacks and all." The first Bush was actually forced to say (approximately), "I knew my dad pretty well, and I think he'd be proud of what I'm doing." So George W. can take comfort in this: When Democrats want to attack a President Bush, they're liable to play the daddy card. If one of the twins makes it into the Oval, the Democrats'll say, "But her father was so reasonable!"

■ As Kermit the Frog once wisely observed, "It's not easy being green." This may be why John Kerry feigns eco-consciousness while secretly enjoying a gas-guzzling lifestyle. For though he rails against rising gas prices and U.S. dependency on foreign oil, and apparently wants to make a hybrid his "campaign car," Kerry's own garage (and boathouse, and hangar) tell a different story. The Earth-friendly Kerry family owns eight cars, including two Jeeps and a notoriously gas-needy Chevrolet Suburban. They also have a Harley, two powerboats, a Novurania, and a Gulfstream II private jet. (Does the Sierra Club know this?) We record that Kerry bought his Scaramouche—a 42-foot powerboat with a base price of $695,000—with cold cash. It may not be easy being green, but it sure is nice *having* green.

The Clinton Book

At Knopf, they sweat; they want it NOW.
On Kerry's stump, they have a cow
Obsessing over how much gas
Bill sucks from Kerry at the pass—
That's at or near convention time.
Then there's the fear about a rhyme
That almost finished Cleveland... You
*Can see why John intones, "*Mon dieu.*"*

—W. H. von Dreele

■ Another Earth Day has come and gone, and though the greens keep implying that each one may be our last, every year the environment gets cleaner. The run-up to this year's Earth Day included a breathless *New York Times Magazine* cover story with an ominous photo of a power-plant smokestack belching forth a huge cloud of steam. While enviros scream that the Bush administration is "gutting" the Clean Air Act, they pass over EPA data showing that coal-fired power-plant emissions (and all other kinds of emissions) continue to go down. Most other areas of the environment—water quality, forestlands, toxic chemicals, wildlife preservation—show similar improvement, according to Steven Hayward's ninth annual Index of Leading Environmental Indicators. A Gallup Poll released just before Earth Day found that the environment is at its lowest point ever as a salient political issue. Environmentalists have never absorbed the lesson of the fable of the little boy who cried wolf. In fact, they can't even cry wolf much longer, as the northern gray wolf is on its way to being taken off the Endangered Species List.

■ A group of Republican senators led by Lamar Alexander of Tennessee wants to make it easier for states to tax Internet access. They claim they are standing up for federalism. That is indeed a worthy cause, when properly understood. But federalism does not entail permission for the states to do whatever they wish, the consequences for interstate commerce be damned. We would not let each state stipulate that two-thirds of the crew members on every flight starting or finishing in its jurisdiction have to live in-state, because that would end the airline industry. The Constitution gives Congress a power to regulate interstate commerce in order to prevent states from placing barriers in its way. Congress should bar the states from taxing Internet access, and start keeping an eye on the states' Internet sales taxes too, and Senator Alexander should find more appropriate places to fight federal power.

■ Senators from both parties, including Kennedy, McCain, Lott, and Snowe, have agreed on a bill to let people buy cheap prescription drugs from Canada and other countries. Their reasoning is a classic case of looking at first-order effects but not indirect ones. That American consumers will be able to get all the same medicines they would otherwise get, but now at lower prices, is the least likely outcome of this bill. What is more likely is that the drug companies will refuse to sell in Canada so long as its price controls are not adjusted. What is even more likely is that the drug companies will capitulate and allow the Canadian government to set the price for their American market—at the price of undermining their ability to finance research into new medicines. The drug industry exists within a complicated matrix of market forces and government interventions. Some of these interventions should no doubt be modified. But the industry has worked wonders for the sick, and messing with the status quo to meet the demands of the polls is seriously unwise.

■ A young historian once set out to exonerate Alger Hiss from the accusation that he was a Soviet spy. As Allen Weinstein conducted his research, however, he became convinced that

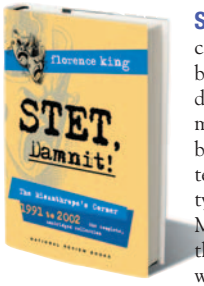
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE shipping!

THE NATIONAL REVIEW BOOK SHOP

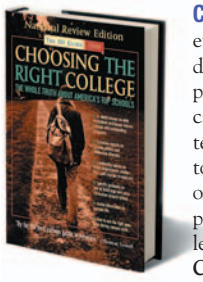
WONDERFUL **NEW BOOKS — *PERFECT* GIFTS — *MUSTS* FOR EVERY FAMILY LIBRARY**

For rush orders call 212-679-7330 (ext. 2840) or order online at www.nationalreview.com



STET, DAMNIT! Florence King is back—in the big, new, complete and unabridged hardcover collection of her beloved column that ruled *NR*'s back page for over a decade. Now you can relish again Miss King smacking her masterful prose like a two-by-four upside the thick heads of busybodies, whiners, chin-droolers, huggers, store-greeters, teddy-bear memorializers, and all of society's more annoying types. All the vim, vigor, and verbal vinegar that made "The Misanthrope's Corner" a must-read is here—every single thoroughly enjoyable, eye-poking, nincompoop-poohing word—in ***STET, Damnit!*** A must-have, will-love book!

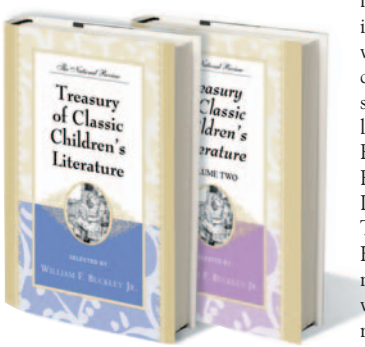
free *shipping/handling!* **'STET, DAMNIT!' ORDER CODE FK $29.95 each**



CHOOSING THE RIGHT COLLEGE is *the* es-sential reference resource for prospective students. Its 954 pages offer detailed profiles of over 120 of the nation's top private and public colleges and universities, covering core curricula, campus crime, student living arrangements, the quality of teaching, professors to seek out, courses and departments to *avoid*, and so much more, through candid assessments of each school's academic curriculum, political atmosphere, and campus life. Don't even *think* of looking at colleges (and spending over $150,000!) before you get ***Choosing the Right College***!

free *shipping/handling!* **'RIGHT COLLEGE' ORDER CODE RC $29.95 each**

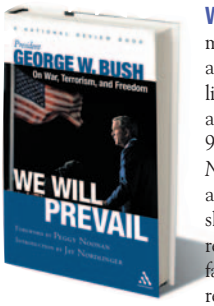
NR'S "CLASSIC CHILDREN'S LITERATURE" TREASURIES (ORIGINAL AND NEW 'VOLUME TWO') are *musts* for every home —can you imagine *better* gifts for young readers?! Each book is a lavishly illustrated quality hardcover, each with 528 pages that contain over three dozen fabulous stories—personally selected by William F. Buckley Jr.!—by literary giants, including Mark Twain, Rudyard Kipling, Lewis Carroll, L. Frank Baum, Louisa May Alcott, Jack London, Frances Hodgson Burnett, Thornton Burgess, Joel Chandler Harris, Howard Pyle, Bret Harte, and many more *gifted* (but *forgotten*) writers whose stories are priceless gems. And now they are polished, gleaming, and yours to enjoy!



free *shipping/handling!*

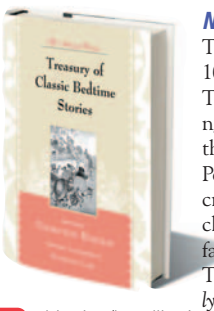
'ORIGINAL' EDITION ORDER CODE K1
$29.95 each ($24.95 additional copies)
'VOLUME TWO' ORDER CODE K2
$29.95 each ($24.95 additional copies)

Catholic Parent magazine praised the first "Treasury" as an "excellent, wholesome" book filled with "wonderful children's stories that will delight, entertain and nourish your youngsters and teenagers." And the *Wall Street Journal* heartily endorsed both books (*and* our "Bedtime" book!) thusly: they'll "excite in children an appreciation for the human condition." Every story in these two volumes—whether about knights and princesses, giants or dwarfs, beggars and angels, whether tales of daring and silliness . . . or even saintliness, with brave girls defending their country and intrepid boys risking their lives to rescue others—is *wholesome*, and will entertain, instruct, and inspire. Why not inspire a deserving young child—give him *NR*'s ***Classic Children's Literature*** treasuries!



WE WILL PREVAIL is the definitive collection of the most compelling and inspiring speeches on war, terrorism, and freedom given by President George W. Bush as he rallied the United States and other nations after the terrible and tragic attacks of September 11, 2001. Featuring over 90 speeches, proclamations, and statements selected by *National Review*—with a Foreword by Peggy Noonan and an Introduction by Jay Nordlinger—***We Will Prevail*** shows a war president handling the special rhetorical responsibilities of a war presidency. It is a must for every family library, and a special gift for that patriotic friend or relative (or your local school and library!).

free *shipping/handling!* **ORDER CODE WW $24.95 each**



NR'S TREASURY OF CLASSIC BEDTIME STORIES This big new hardcover book (over 360 pages!) contains 10 delightful "Bedtime" stories written by the great Thornton W. Burgess (and brightened by 60 enchanting drawings by the renowned Harrison Cady!). They're the *very* stories—featuring Reddy Fox, Johnny Chuck, Peter Cottontail, and dozens of other colorful woodland creatures—that delighted generations of American children. Simple, well-written, and refreshingly old-fashioned, these stories entertain *and* teach a moral. They're perfect for beginning readers, and they're *exactly* the kind of little dramas you can read to wee ones at night as a prelude to sweet dreams. This is one book you *must* share with a deserving child.

free *shipping/handling!* **ORDER CODE K3 $29.95 each ($24.95 additional copies)**

MAIL TO: NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 10016 (FAX: 212-696-0340)

Send me these

K1 ____ $29.95 first copy/$24.95 extra copies Treasury Original
K2 ____ $29.95 first copy/$24.95 extra copies Treasury Vol. 2
K3 ____ $29.95 first copy/$24.95 extra copies Bedtime Stories
FK ____ copies at $29.95 each STET, Damnit!
RC ____ copies at $29.95 each College Guide
WW ____ copies at $24.95 each We Will Prevail

$ _____ *SPECIAL SHIPPING OPTION: Add $5.00 if you want your books sent via UPS Ground—this is an option!).*

$ _____ TOTAL PAYMENT (Foreign orders add $3.00 for shipping/handling. New York State residents **must** add sales tax.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

PAYMENT ☐ Check enclosed (payable to *National Review*)

INFORMATION: ☐ Bill my credit card. Select one: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

CC # _____ Exp.Date _____ Signature _____

CALL US AND WE WILL SEND GIFT ORDERS AT NO EXTRA CHARGE (WE'LL EVEN INCLUDE A HANDSOME ANNOUNCEMENT CARD)!
ORDER ONLINE AT WWW.NATIONALREVIEW.COM; FOR RUSH ORDERS CALL 212-679-7330/EXT. 2840 (M-F/9AM-4PM/EST)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

Hiss was indeed guilty of betraying his country. So has every other person who has investigated the matter objectively, thanks in no small part to Weinstein's groundbreaking scholarship, which resulted in the 1978 book *Perjury*. This adherence to the evidence is apparently one kind of treachery the Left can't tolerate, because now its minions are opposing Bush's nomination of Weinstein (a Democrat, by the way) to head the National Archives. In their desperation, they've even criticized his co-authorship of a subsequent book with a former KGB agent who had access to exclusive Soviet archives. Apparently some types of collaboration are worse than others. The Senate should confirm Weinstein posthaste.

■ The Philadelphia field office of the FBI has given a community-service award to local activist Marwan Kreidie. Mr. Kreidie's services to his community include telling a conference of the Arab American Institute that John Ashcroft is "a lunatic," comparing the U.S. to authoritarian regimes in the Middle East, attacking the seizure of funds belonging to the terrorist Hamas organization, and portraying practically all U.S. anti-terrorist activities as racist. Asked about this ludicrous award, an FBI spokes-doofus avowed that Mr. Kreidie has been "educating us on the mores and customs of the Arab people." What about all those Arab people—a majority in the U.S., we hope and believe—who do not share Mr. Kreidie's rabid opinions? Here is a clue to the mores and customs of the American people: If you make enough of a nuisance of yourself, and tirelessly promote yourself by saying enough outrageous things in public, the establishment will make strenuous, but very clumsy, efforts to co-opt you.

■ It's better to be unpopular and alive, most Israelis figure, than to be popular and dead. So they're not shedding tears for Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and Abdel Aziz Rantisi, the two Hamas leaders

The Flexibility of Bush Hatred

THE most fascinating thing about Bush hatred is how it rewrites the physical laws governing the space-time continuum. In the Möbius-strip universe inhabited by Michael Moore & Co., all bad things about Bush can be true, including their opposites. Hence Bush's critics have denounced him as both an evil genius *and* a moron.

Well, the unheralded good news behind the recent spate of "insider" accounts of the White House—namely Dick Clarke's and Bob Woodward's respective bestsellers, along with all that 9/11 Commission testimony—is that, even in their harshest forms, they've had the unanticipated and unintended benefit of dispelling more anti-Bush conspiracy theories than they've confirmed. (Whereas, in the factless vacuum, Bush-haters could demand that Bush's defenders prove the negative: After all, is there any evidence W. *isn't* secretly doing the bidding of the Bilderburgers or Colonel Sanders, who, by the way, is not really dead—he lives on an island in the Pacific with Bruce Lee and Elvis?)

As a matter of logic, however, if you confirm that something is a "true fact" (to borrow a term from Casey Stengel), then its opposite must not be one. So, in Bob Woodward's book, we learn that the president did not even ask Dick Cheney for an opinion about going to war. Thwack, there goes the idea that Cheney's secretly running the show. We discover that Bush rejected the CIA's original case on WMD: "Nice try," he sniffed. To which Tenet responded, "It's a slam-dunk case." Womp, there goes the argument that Bush lied about WMD. We find out that Bush demanded an Iraq war plan on November 21, 2001. Yoink. There goes the rug underlying the theory that those clever Rasputins we call "neocons" had been egging a hapless president into war.

The same goes for Clarke's book and testimony. About 85 percent of Clarke's criticisms end up exonerating Bush of other, more vicious, criticisms. Clarke's biggest beef is that the White House wasn't hawkish enough on the War on Terror; and yet so many of the liberals clinging to the book had, until recently, claimed Bush was *too* hawkish. Indeed, Clarke and pretty much everyone else involved with the 9/11 Commission—witnesses and commissioners alike—have fallen over themselves praising the Patriot Act.

Will the Bush haters now be chastened? Only if they are consistent. In other words, no. For example, shortly after 9/11, *Salon*'s Joe Conason wrote about the White House decision to divert Air Force One from Washington. The administration's claim that terrorists had targeted the president was "among the most serious fabrications ever promulgated by federal officials. . . . If the president cares at all about honor and integrity, he will demand that his aides either reveal the truth or tender their resignations." It turns out that the decision was entirely Clarke's. He says so in his book. When Conason interviewed the erstwhile counterterrorism czar, he'd forgotten he once called this issue "fundamental" to our "constitutional democracy" and instead gushed at Clarke's heroism. "To be honest," Conason swooned, "it seemed to me that you saved their asses that day."

To be honest, indeed.

—JONAH GOLDBERG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Same award-winning performance. Now available with a 5-CD Changer.

When we introduced the Acoustic Wave® music system, audio critic Wayne Thompson called it "simply the best-sounding compact stereo system in captivity." *Sound & Vision* reported that it delivers "possibly the best-reproduced sound many people have ever heard." By offering the sound of a big, complicated stereo system – but from an all-in-one music system hardly the size of a briefcase – the Acoustic Wave® music system set a new industry standard.

So how did we make this award-winning system even better? By listening to owners and developing the CD changer they asked for. Engineered specifically for the Acoustic Wave® music system, our 5-CD Changer allows you to enjoy hours of music. You can even use it to connect other audio sources to your system – transforming it into a versatile audio center for movies, music and more.

Lifelike sound – without interruption.

Our separate 5-CD Changer lets you savor the Acoustic Wave® music system's award-winning sound for hours on end. Load your five favorite CDs and press Play. You'll hear your music come to life with crystal-clear highs and deep, enveloping lows that fill the room.

Patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology is what allows the Acoustic Wave® music system to deliver such a spacious, lifelike performance. And our 5-CD Changer lets you enjoy that room-filling sound without ever having to stop the music to change CDs.

Beyond music – without complication.

Our 5-CD Changer also lets you connect your Acoustic Wave® system to additional audio sources and switch among them at the press of a button. Connect it to your TV, VCR, DVD player or computer – and enjoy Bose® quality sound from everything you listen to or watch.

The Acoustic Wave® music system and 5-CD Changer were both designed for complete ease of operation. There are no speakers to connect and no confusing dials to adjust. Every feature operates with intuitive simplicity. And the credit card-sized remote control lets you operate the system and all CD-changer functions with ease.

Try them for yourself, risk free.

Experience the Acoustic Wave® music system and our versatile, easy-to-use 5-CD Changer in your home for 30 days, satisfaction guaranteed. Call today and **save $150** when you order the Acoustic Wave® system together with our 5-CD Changer. Be sure to ask about our **financing options** when you call.

SAVE $150 when you order the Acoustic Wave® music system with our 5-CD Changer by June 30, 2004.

The Acoustic Wave® music system and 5-CD Changer are available from Bose, the most respected name in sound.

Call 1-800-905-1406

Ext. G6263

For information on all our products: **www.bose.com/g6263**

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Day Phone_____ Eve. Phone_____

E-mail (Optional) _____

Mail to: Bose Corp., Dept. DMG-G6263, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2004 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Acoustic Wave® music system design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and reduced price on 5-CD Changer package not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes are reprinted with permission: Wayne Thompson, *Oregonian*, 8/15/89; Julian Hirsch, *Sound & Vision*, 3/85.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

responsible for years of terror and murder, and recently taken out themselves by well-aimed missiles. Anyone else planning to resume operations where they left off has something to think about. Prime Minister Sharon is also making things harder for eager killers by doing everything possible to separate the two communities until the Palestinians are ready to accept compromise. President Bush rightly makes the point that this is only realistic. Commentators have been wildly excited that American policy over the Palestine issue has changed, but the roadmap still applies, and its promise of a Palestinian state is advanced by the proposed Israeli pullout from Gaza. All sorts of people, including President Clinton, have previously floated the idea that any Palestinian refugee who wants to resettle will have to do so in the Palestinian state rather than Israel. Of course it would have been better if the Camp David talks of 2000 had led to a signed treaty dealing with all outstanding issues. Deadlock leaves the Israelis to implement measures to save themselves unilaterally. As for the Palestinians, their leaders seem bent on illustrating one of the most famous and poignant Arab proverbs: The dogs bark but the caravan moves on.

■ Osama bin Laden, the Scimitar of Islamofascism, holed up in some cave in the Pakistani badlands, has offered Europe a truce. Leave "our countries," and we'll stop murdering you. Three months, take it or leave it! Did Hitler in his bunker send out feelers to Patton, Montgomery, and Zhukov? Unlike Hitler, Osama enjoys deluded admirers throughout the world. But it is doubtful how many he, in his current state, actively controls, even assuming his offer is sincere, which it isn't. His only hope is that there will be Europeans dumb enough to believe him, which is not nothing.

■ Moammar Qaddafi likes to impersonate a desert chief, who pitches his tent where he pleases, a commander with a chestful of medals, a boss in dark glasses, a penitent terrorist, and he has a new star turn as an ally renouncing weapons of mass destruction and introducing democracy in Libya, his private fiefdom. There's talk of internal reform, for instance abolishing the courts that finalize his one-man rule. Everyone has hastened to reward him by lifting sanctions. Fathi al-Jahmi is a former Libyan official persecuted for calling for free speech and democracy. He seems to be only one of many Libyans who have suddenly disappeared without trace. Showman Qaddafi has oil to sell, and horse feathers, too.

■ JUST IN CASE YOU FORGET WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE WE'RE DEALING WITH: The *Daily Telegraph* tells us that "the body of a police special-forces officer who died when Islamic terrorists blew themselves up in Madrid was taken from its grave, mutilated, and burnt." The coffin and body of Special Agent Francisco Javier Torronteras were "doused with petrol and set alight." Moreover, "the body was found with a pick driven into its head and a spade dug into its chest." Although "no motive was immediately apparent, police speculated that it could be the work of sympathizers of the Moroccan terrorist group that carried out the train bomb attacks in the Spanish capital on March 11, killing 192 people and injuring 1,900. The interior ministry said the act of desecration could have been part of 'an Islamic rite of revenge.'" Etc.

■ Much to his displeasure, Tony Blair, the British prime minister, has been pressured into holding a referendum on the proposed European constitution, a sovereignty-sapping document its supporters downplay as merely completing a little unfinished business. The Europhile elite did not react well to the announcement. It is trying to spin the constitutional question into a grand referendum on whether Britain should be In or Out of the European Union, and to delay it. But it would prefer not to have a vote at all. Neil Kinnock, a British EU commissioner, feared that a No vote would "destabilize" the country, while Michael Heseltine, a former Tory minister, fretted it would instigate a raft of "appalling scare stories and gross exaggerations." When it comes to the EU, unfortunately, scare stories and gross exaggerations have a disturbing tendency to be true. After all, just a few short years ago, who would have thought that a gossipy rumor about a "constitution" could ever come to fruition?

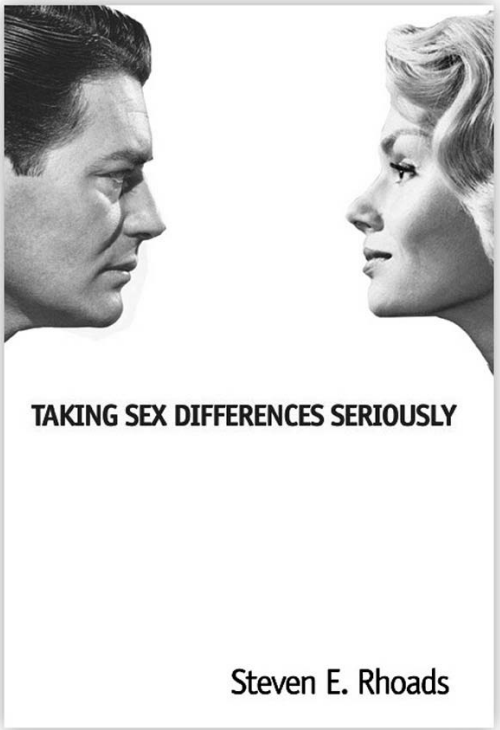
■ Did you know that Muslim explorers arrived in North America before Columbus and became Indian chiefs? Well, neither did we, until we heard about the *Arab World Studies Notebook*, a "history" primer for secondary-school teachers. According to the *Notebook*, early Muslim travelers married into Algonquin and Iroquois tribes, and when European explorers finally made it to the New World they met chiefs with names like Abdul-Rahim and Abdallah Ibn Malik. The 540-page primer (which has been distributed to some 1,200 teachers in the last five years) offers no sources for this peculiar claim, because of course there are none. In fact, the *Notebook*'s editor admitted as much recently in response to pressure from Algonquins to remove that bit about intermarriage. The claim had no basis, she agreed to take it out—good we cleared that up. But sadly it's just the tip of the iceberg: According to a new Fordham Foundation report, an earlier edition of the *Notebook* claimed Yasser Arafat was president of a newly created state called Palestine and that present-day Palestinians are descendents of the Biblical Canaanites.

■ Hard to believe that the armed forces of the German nation were the terror of Europe for 80 years. Nowadays they are a fully integrated part of the Bundesrepublik's extravagant welfare state. Servicepersons can even join public-service labor unions. In the most recent move away from tradition, German soldiers are to be allowed to sleep together in barracks and on foreign postings. Announcing the change, the defense minister made it clear that—of course!—the ruling applied to homosexual couples as well as to heterosexuals. The reform followed growing criticism that the ban on sexual relations was "hostile to life." Well, yes; but isn't there a sense in which armies, navies, and air forces are *supposed* to be hostile to life? Oh, never mind.

■ Britain's theatrical and operatic elites have an argot all their own, one feature of which is the use of such terms of endear-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Differences Between Men and Women



"Scintillating and utterly persuasive. For several decades, gender ideologues have aggressively promoted the view that 'gender is a social construction.' Rhoads marshals massive amounts of evidence showing why they are wrong."
—Christina Hoff Sommers

Most current discussions of sex differences between men and women assume that they are determined by society rather than biology. It is society that teaches little girls to be feminine and little boys to be masculine; society that tells women to respond to babies and men to respond to sports and warfare. Because men and women are virtually interchangeable, so the argument goes, men should do an exactly equal share of domestic and childrearing work so that women can compete equally outside the home.

There's only one problem. Whatever we might like to believe, as Dr. Steven Rhoads shows in this authoritative book, sex differences remain.

In *Taking Sex Differences Seriously*, Rhoads assembles a wealth of scientific evidence showing that these differences are "hardwired" into our biology. They range from the subtle (women instinctively carry babies on their left side, near the maternal heartbeat) to the profound (women with high testosterone levels are more promiscuous, more competitive, and more conflicted about having children than women with normal levels).

Rhoads explores male/female disparities in aggression and dominance, in sexuality and nurturing. Denial of these differences, he shows, has affected developments such as the sexual revolution and fatherless families, and policies such as Title IX and the call for universal day care. But while acknowledging that these differences are important, Rhoads also believes that society is improved by discouraging some natural tendencies, like men's desire for irresponsible sex, and encouraging others, like women's interest and talent in caring for babies.

Steven Rhoads dispels social clichés and spotlights biological realities in this provocative book. Meticulously researched and elegantly written, *Taking Sex Differences Seriously* is a groundbreaking look at the way we are.

ENCOUNTER BOOKS www.encounterbooks.com
At bookstores everywhere or call 800-786-3839

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment as "darling," "ducky," "lovey," and so on, regardless of the sex, orientation, or job classification of either the addresser or the addressee. These usages are so entrenched that "luvvy" is now a word in the (British) English language, used to refer to a person employed in the theatrical profession, or an aficionado thereof. These cheerful little scraps of Theatreland dialect have now come under the scrutiny of Britain's Speech Police. A directive from the management of the English National Opera has advised staff against using these terms of address, on the grounds that they might be construed as sexual harassment or "offensive flirtation." Given the traditional English view of players as vagabonds and strumpets, we wish ENO lots of luck in their policing efforts. And to denizens of the West End who find the environment too stimulating, we recommend the approach taken by Dr. Johnson, who said to David Garrick: "I'll come no more behind your scenes, David; for the silk stockings and white bosoms of your actresses excite my amorous propensities."

■ On April 20, Michiko Kakutani published one of the most un-PC book reviews ever to appear anywhere—including in NATIONAL REVIEW. Kakutani is chief reviewer of the *New York Times*. The target was Alice Walker's latest novel, *Now Is the Time to Open Your Heart*. Walker—black, radical, etc.—is an untouchable, we would have thought. But, boy, did Kakutani touch her: "If this novel did not boast the name of Alice Walker . . . it's hard to imagine how it could have been published." The book "is a remarkably awful compendium of inanities. There are New Age inanities," and "feminist inanities," and "flower children inanities," along with "plain old bad writing." (Kakutani provided examples of all of these.) The review concluded, "In the end 'Now Is the Time to Open Your Heart' is less a novel than a cloying collection of New Age homilies, multicultural pieties and trippy Carlos Castaneda-ish riffs, hung like politically correct Christmas ornaments on the armature of [the main character's] tortuous journey from self-pity to self-congratulation." Wow. Kakutani has dismayed us conservatives before, and she will dismay us again. But that Alice Walker could be so treated in the Paper of Record shows that they let a little fresh air in, every once in a while.

■ The institution of marriage, if you believe what you read in the *Times*, is dying—and good riddance, too. Laura Kipnis, a "professor of media studies," opined recently that "more and more people—heterosexuals, that is—don't want to get or stay married these days," and threw in the obligatory reference to that famous "fifty percent divorce rate" as additional proof. The good professor is wrong: The 50 percent figure is merely a vague sociological tool for predicting how many marriages are likely to end before one of the spouses dies. It is not a real-world indicator heralding The End of Marriage (and in any case, that theoretical rate has in recent years declined to 43 percent). Whether one stays married depends on a variety of factors: According to the National Center for Health Statistics, couples who have a child before marriage, earn less than $25,000, marry before they're 18, lack a religious affiliation, and/or live in urban centers, have significantly higher probabilities of divorce. Face it, when even the girls on *Sex and the City* are getting hitched, marriage is *in*.

■ Pat Tillman, the former safety for the Arizona Cardinals who became a U.S. Army Ranger after 9/11, was killed in a firefight near the Afghan village of Spera. Tillman, who walked away from a $3.6 million contract, refused all publicity so as not to draw attention from the exertions, and the sacrifices, of his comrades. If we violate his wishes by singling him out now, it is only to consider the situation that he represents. Death in battle, defending one's country, is traditionally held to be a noble thing. Horace expressed the thought pithily: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" (To die for the fatherland is a sweet thing and becoming). But throughout history there have been voices raised in protest. During and after World War I, these became a chorus in the Western world. Wilfred Owen, describing a poison-gas attack, called Horace's line "The old Lie." Owen later died in his war, and is worthy of respect; but he did not address what else Horace said. "Death is at the heels even of the runaway, nor spares the haunches and back of the coward and malingerer." No cunning stops it. Our choice is whether to meet it well—as Tillman, and hundreds of others, from 9/11 on, have done.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Humanitarian Graft

AN unfriendly ghost roams the regulation-gray corridors and pine-paneled offices of the United Nations: The Iraqi Oil-for-Food scheme, terminated by the Security Council last November, has returned to haunt the beleaguered inhabitants of Amityville-on-the-East-River. If reports are true, Saddam Hussein stole more than $10 billion by exploiting a U.N.-administered program that was supposed to meet humanitarian needs in Iraq. Hundreds of foreign individuals, political parties, and companies illegally profited through back-channel deals with the Iraqi regime.

From the scheme's beginnings in 1995, Oil-for-Food was ripe for the plucking by the unscrupulous. Administered by no fewer than ten U.N. agencies, and employing 4,600 people, it was a secretive, unaccountable program that supervised the flow of some $15 billion annually. Within such a sloppily designed organizational structure, systematic graft, bribery, and smuggling were inevitable. Yet the U.N. did little to stop the abuses.

The basic assumption underlying Oil-for-Food was absurd: Saddam was trusted to use the proceeds of selling Iraqi oil to benefit his people. It appears, unsurprisingly enough, that Saddam instead provided oil at bargain prices to favored clients, who kicked back a portion of their profits from arbitraging it on the open market to Baghdad, while he purchased foreign goods of dubious humanitarian utility (such as Mercedes-Benz touring sedans) at inflated prices from happy suppliers.

In January, a Baghdad newspaper, *Al-Mada*, published a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

provisional list of roughly 270 entities and individuals in 50 countries who allegedly participated in this racket, and Claudia Rosett has performed sterling service in further investigating the fiasco for the *Wall Street Journal*, *Commentary*, and *National Review Online*. The list of those identified should raise some eyebrows. They include no fewer than 46 Russians (including "the director of the Russian President's office") and eleven Frenchmen (for instance, former interior minister Charles Pasqua), plus George Galloway, the radical British MP and unyielding anti-war propagandist. And let us not forget the PLO and the Russian Communist party, among many others named as beneficiaries of Baathist largesse.

A curious reference in the list to a "Sevan" is thought to implicate Benon Sevan, the U.N. official in charge of Oil-for-Food. Sevan denies the charge, though ABC News is citing Iraqi documents alleging that he passed his voucher for 7.3 million barrels of oil to a Panamanian company to deal with. Kofi Annan's son, Kojo, was employed by Cotecna Inspections, a Swiss-based firm, as a "consultant" while the U.N. was reviewing bids from companies to inspect Oil-for-Food shipments. Cotecna, by a no doubt wholly remarkable coincidence, received the contract. As Balzac might say, 'tis a murky business indeed.

But it gets murkier still. If they were in receipt of Saddam's patronage, the odd behavior of certain governments, companies, and individuals in the lead-up to the war becomes more explicable. If, moreover, the U.N. was as careless in discharging its duties as the (mounting) evidence suggests, then Annan presided over the greatest swindle in history. It was not a victimless crime, for the people of Iraq paid dearly for others' greed. The monies received by the Baathist regime, in tandem with the diplomatic, philosophical, and political support its bought agents of influence guaranteed, lengthened its survival, heightened its haughtiness, and deepened its intransigence.

Under pressure, Annan has been obliged to assemble a team to investigate the alleged abuses. Its progress is fraught with uncertainty. How truly independent of the U.N. Secretariat will these investigators be? How wide-ranging their remit? How can they expect the full cooperation of possibly errant Security Council members, such as France and Russia, whose interests are at stake?

The investigation must be pressed to the fullest extent possible. If its discoveries confirm our suspicions, it will be clear not only that Annan is too compromised to continue in office, but also that the U.N. is too compromised to play a large role in the administration of Iraq.

notes & asides

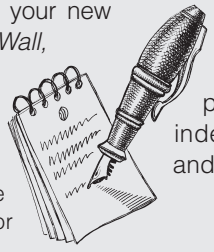
■ Dear Bill: Mr. Patrick M. Dempsey, in the April 5 Notes & Asides, makes some good logical points in arguing that we should say "the Ukraine," not "Ukraine." However, idiomatic convention is not always logical. English-speakers all say "the Netherlands," which makes good sense; however, we don't say "the Austria," although that country's name in its own language is as much a description ("eastern realm") as is "nether lands." Peter Lunn (son of Arnold), in one of his great books on skiing, writes, as an Englishman, about "the Lebanon"; but when President Eisenhower sent American troops, he sent them to "Lebanon." The French call their own country "la France," but we aren't inspired by their definite article to say "the France."

Actually, even in logical terms Mr. Dempsey's argument doesn't quite work. The phrase from which the name derives, "u krainy," doesn't mean "the frontier"—it means "on the frontier." So saying "the Ukraine" is like saying "the on the frontier."

Language also has political power. The reason our Ukrainian-American friends asked us, during the Cold War, to drop the "the" that we had inexplicably adopted was that, in their view, doing so made it clearer that "Ukraine" was a proper name and not merely a description—or, to put it another way, that it denoted a real country, and not merely a region of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Best,
Linda [Bridges]

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Your March 22 issue includes a review of your new book, *The Fall of the Berlin Wall,* by Peter Robinson, which includes the following passage:



> Recounting a visit he made to Checkpoint Charlie, for example, Buckley writes:
>
> > The Vopos [East German police] stalled me for a full twenty minutes . . . a way of saying that although formal diplomatic concessions were being made, there was no reason for the visitor not to feel the heavy heel of the commanding entity, the German Democratic Republic. I don't conceal that I thought the Germans who were enforcing the laws appeared especially well qualified to do so, in the square-set resolution of their heads, the grimness of their expressions, and their disembodied attention to duty.
>
> Exquisite diction and, in the mounting wave of dependent clauses that ends the second sentence, a use of rhythm that Macaulay would have approved.

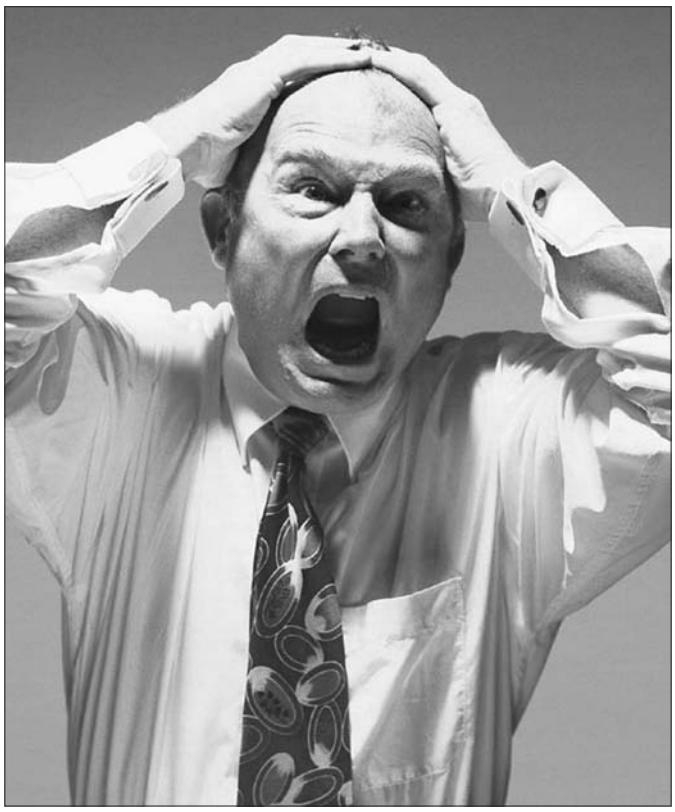
I really have serious reservations regarding the proposition that Macaulay would have approved of clauses, dependent or otherwise, lacking verbs. Also the writer's final sentence (actually a paragraph) does contain two dependent clauses but lacks any independent clause with subject and verb!

Sincerely,
Dale Sparling,
Brookings, N.D.

Dear Mr. Sparling: I shall insert verbs in the next edition!
Cordially,

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



■ THE NATION ■

Why They Hate Him

A world turned upside down

RAMESH PONNURU

THESE days, conservatives and liberals seem to find it hard not only to get along, but even to comprehend one another. What liberals don't understand about conservatives would fill several years' worth of this magazine, and has. The chief thing conservatives don't understand about contemporary liberals is why they hate President Bush. Conservatives see him as a decent, moderately conservative, and not-especially-partisan figure. They can't understand why he arouses such strong dislike. What follows is an attempt neither to excuse nor to damn the Bush-haters, but to understand them.

Some of the reasons for their animosity are quite obvious. We conservatives may think that Bush won the last presidential election fair and square, and find most of the Democrats' complaints about Florida foolish. But foolish grievances can also be understandable ones. An election that close, with so many disputes in its aftermath, is going to lead to hard feelings.

The country's cultural divisions, and the way they underlie our political ones, account for another large chunk of the hostility. Much as President Clinton became a symbol to conservatives of everything they detested about "the Sixties," so has Bush become the symbol of what liberals dislike about modern America. They see in him the narrow-mindedness they associate with the Bible Belt and the boardroom.

Related to this is the tendency of liberals to regard liberalism as the natural home of intelligent and sophisticated people. This self-image, which seems to be quite important to them, is rooted in primordial memories of ancient quarrels between the party of reason and the party of tradition. Bush never defers to this liberal self-image. He has made it pretty clear that he, unlike some previous Republican leaders, does not care what the editors of the *New York Times* think about anything.

Even the hostility directed at Bush because of the Iraq war may be largely a function of the culture wars. Surely part of the reason that this war and the Kosovo war were greeted so differently by liberals (and conservatives) is that the latter was seen as a blue-state war and the former is seen as a red-state one. Much of the public debate seems to be turning on people's attitudes toward Europe, American exceptionalism, and other value-laden topics.

These liberal tendencies reinforce one another. Florida, for example, changed Bush's alleged stupidity from a source of disdain to one of anger. Subsequent events have made things worse. To be opposed by a fool is one thing; to be bested by him, repeatedly, is far more galling.

Which brings us to what may be the deepest cause of the Democrats' current mood: their dispossession. They do not run the White House, or the Senate, or the House, or a majority of the governors' mansions, or a majority of state legislatures. Republicans do not like being out of power any more than Democrats do. But Republicans are used to it. Three times in the last 40 years, Republicans have been shut out of national power: 1960-68, 1976-80, and 1993-94. Democrats, on the other hand, have not had so little power since the 1920s. Not so long ago, the House was their family heirloom. By 1995, they had held it for 60 of the previous 64 years. For Tom Daschle, being shut out of power must feel something like losing a birthright. For Al Gore, it may feel *exactly* like that.

The change in the media has been at least equally disturbing. Once upon a time, liberals could count on the media to broadcast what liberals saw as the truth.

GETTY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing...

Young America's Foundation

Spring/Summer Conferences

FreedomFest

Bally's/Paris Hotel & Resort, Las Vegas, Nevada, May 13-15, 2004

This is the conference for students and adults interested in free-markets and freedom, held in the entertainment capital of America - Las Vegas. Ben Stein, John Stossel, Charles Murray, Dinesh D'Souza, Ron Paul, and Nathaniel Branden, are a few of the many confirmed speakers.

Visit www.freedomfest.com or call 800-USA-1776 to register today!

National High School Leadership Conference

National 4-H Center, Chevy Chase, Maryland, July 15-18, 2004

The National High School Leadership Conference is back! In its 7th year, the NHSLC allows high school students to spend four days near our nation's capital learning about conservative ideas from conservative luminaries, scholars, and media figures.

National Conservative Student Conference

George Washington University, Washington, D.C., August 1-7, 2004

The Foundation's flagship conference for college students is now in its 26th year! Spend a week in Washington, D.C. learning about conservative ideas oftentimes omitted on campus. Hear from your conservative heroes like Rich Lowry, Edwin Meese, Bob Novak, Walter Williams, and more.

Visit wwwyaf.org or call 800-USA-1776 to register for our student conferences!

National Headquarters
F.M. Kirby Freedom Center
110 Elden Street
Herndon, VA 20170
800-USA-1776
www.yaf.org

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

The Reagan Ranch
217 State Street
Santa Barbara, CA 93101
888-USA-1776
www.reaganranch.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What the truth was did not depend on where you turned the dial. Then came Rush Limbaugh and, still worse, Fox News. It is impossible to overestimate how big Fox News has become in the liberal bestiary. Liberals talk about it as though Brit Hume were our answer to Tom Brokaw, when he is really, in terms of viewership, our answer to Judy Woodruff. For liberals, the other networks provide the truth and Fox spews propaganda. It outrages them that it is treated as a legitimate news outlet on a par with the others. "Non-stories," such as the politically embarrassing portions of John Kerry's Senate testimony in 1971, can now get pushed into the news. First some conservative website makes it an issue, then Fox gives it coverage, and then Democrats are forced to spend time talking about it on *real* news shows like *Meet the Press*. The world has turned upside down.

And the millennium had such promise! In the late 1990s, liberals began again to feel, for the first time in decades, that history was on their side. President Clinton was popular, and the public had met the Lewinsky scandal with a shrug of indifference. True, liberalism had been somewhat chastened by the failures of the 1970s and 1980s. But it was marching on. In 2000, a larger percentage of voters chose a left-of-center presidential candidate than in any election since 1964. Liberals had their best Senate election since at least 1986. And there was a huge surplus in Washington, just waiting to be invested in the liberal program.

Now the surplus is gone, and there is a chance that George W. Bush will inaugurate a lasting Republican ascendancy. Horrible as it is to be shut out now, liberals must face the positively terrifying prospect of being shut out for a long time to come.

It all seems so terribly unfair. Someone must be to blame. Liberals quickly came up with an explanation: Conservatives cheated. They got their buddies on the Supreme Court to install Bush as president. They exploited the war on terrorism. They smeared the patriot Max Cleland. They undid the election of Gov. Gray Davis in California. They started that sinister television channel. Daschle and the rest were just too nice to fight back in kind.

When liberals began planning to start a radio talk-show network of their own, conservatives jeered that they already had NPR. But the conservatives missed something important. The pretense to objectivity of an NPR may seem laughably or infuriatingly false to us conservatives. But that pretense imposes real constraints on the media. The liberalism has to be kept implicit. Dan Rather may be more effective than, say, Michael Moore in getting Americans without deep political convictions to absorb liberalism. But for the very reason he is more effective, he is less emotionally satisfying to liberals. Conservative media figures have mostly felt free to say what they really think, especially about the other side. Respectability in the wider media culture was not an option. Now liberals feel beleaguered, and they want a Limbaugh of their own.

Horrible as it is to be shut out now, liberals must face the positively terrifying prospect of being shut out for a long time to come.

Note that what liberals are doing here is not simply moving left. The Democrats have moved left on some issues, notably trade. But what chiefly distinguishes the Al Franken Democrats from their predecessors is not their leftism. Franken himself seems actually to be a free-trading, budget-balancing New Democrat, his policy views boringly Clintonian. He is just a bit nutty about the Right. You could see the outlines of this Democratic party forming in Gore's 2000 campaign. His "populism" often seemed to consist of screaming at the top of his lungs about wanting a slightly different version of the patient's bill of rights from the one Bush was proposing.

Perhaps it will work better for Kerry. But an escape hatch is already being prepared in case it doesn't. Kerry has already invoked "the Bush attack machine." If Kerry loses, expect liberals to spend years saying that the 2004 election was unfair. **NR**

■ THE ECONOMY

The Bush Boomlet

Not that it gets much credit—yet

STEPHEN MOORE

To listen to the Kerry Democrats, this year's presidential race is going to be all about Bush's mishandling of the economy. In January, John Kerry charged, "This is the worst job performance since Herbert Hoover was president." A liberal attack ad ridiculed the president's tax cuts for creating jobs and businesses—in China. The left-wing MoveOn.org chimed in with the suggestion that if the budget deficit kept rising, we would soon need to bring back child labor in order to pay the bills.

Amazingly, no one has been more infected by this culture of despair than the Republican leaders on Capitol Hill. Their defensive posture on the economy was exhibited most recently when they gave up the fight to make the Bush tax cuts permanent. One GOP leader, Rep. Chris Shays of Connecticut, reflected the gloomy attitude of too many of his Republican colleagues: "We would be foolish to extend all the tax cuts now."

Why this pessimism? The Bush tax policies are working; the economy is surging. If the Democrats really want to make this election about the economy, I say—to borrow a familiar phrase—bring it on.

The standard measure of growth is gross domestic product. GDP growth has accelerated over the past nine months faster than it has in 20 years. With the Bush tax cuts taking effect in May 2003, the economy grew in real terms at 8.2 percent in last year's third quarter, 4.1 percent in the fourth, and between 4.5 and 5 percent in this year's first quarter. In the same period, labor productivi-

Mr. Moore is president of the Club for Growth.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now at the lowest price ever of $69.95!

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp brings many of the benefits of natural daylight indoors for glare-free lighting that's perfect for a variety of indoor activities…now available for under $70!

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now, there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

Use the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp…

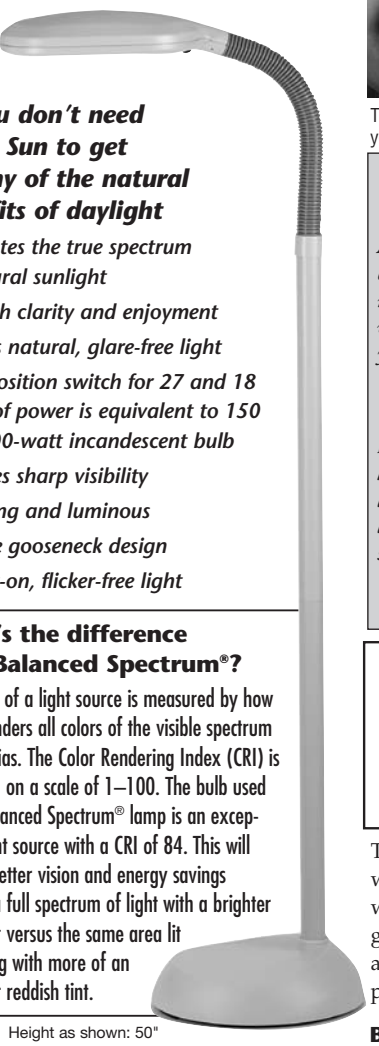
…for reading…

…at work…

…and when you need a source of natural light for close-up tasks.

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.



Height as shown: 50"

You don't need the Sun to get many of the natural benefits of daylight

- *Replicates the true spectrum of natural sunlight*
- *See with clarity and enjoyment*
- *Creates natural, glare-free light*
- *Dual position switch for 27 and 18 watts of power is equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulb*
- *Provides sharp visibility*
- *Elevating and luminous*
- *Flexible gooseneck design*
- *Instant-on, flicker-free light*

What's the difference with Balanced Spectrum®?

The value of a light source is measured by how well it renders all colors of the visible spectrum without bias. The Color Rendering Index (CRI) is measured on a scale of 1–100. The bulb used in the Balanced Spectrum® lamp is an exceptional light source with a CRI of 84. This will provide better vision and energy savings through a full spectrum of light with a brighter bluish tint versus the same area lit by lighting with more of an orange or reddish tint.

We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offered the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulbs. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts five times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-have.

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp now at it's lowest price of less than $70! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to *every* room in your house at this fantastic low price!

Add sunshine to every room of your house at this new fantastic price!

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces.

This light can change the way you live and work

As a commercial photographer, I probably give more attention to lighting than most people and therefore was impressed with the smooth, soft daylight quality of your lamp.

Dennis M.
Richmond, VA

I sit in my comfortable chair after my husband has gone to bed, and I turn that lamp on. It makes it so nice because it's like daylight over my chair…I don't get sore eyes like I used to.

Grace A.
Margate, FL

Results may vary.

Technology revolutionizes the light bulb

- *5,000 hours bulb life*
- *Energy efficient*
- *Shows true colors*

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and TechnoScout's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for **60 days** and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp
Now at the *lowest* price ever of…
Item# ZS-3589 . . . . *only* **$69.95** + S&H

Please mention promotional code 26663.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

866-935-8324

To order by mail with check or money order, or by credit card, please call for total amount plus S&H. To charge it to your credit card, enclose your account number and expiration date.

Virginia residents only—please add 4.5% sales tax.

www.balancedspectrum.com

TECHNOSCOUT®
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2004 TechnoBrands, Inc.

37867

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ty (the key ingredient for higher wages) has grown at a nearly 4 percent rate, and business investment has climbed by 8 percent. In last year's fourth quarter, corporate pretax profits jumped 12 percent. Real interest rates, despite a recent climb, are lower today than they were under Clinton.

This crisp rate of growth actually has Alan Greenspan fretting publicly about an overheating economy—a wonderful problem, since in the history of modern civilization there has never been such a thing as an economy that grew too fast. It is still too early in this nascent expansion to label it the Bush Boom. But at the very least we can call it a Bush Boomlet.

The Kerry camp, of course, in an attempt to cast a pall over the economy, recently trotted out the "middle-class misery index," an unscientific concoction made up of college-tuition costs, gasoline prices, the home-ownership rate, and other variables. But what's wrong with the *old* misery index, which simply added inflation to the unemployment rate? Well, Kerry couldn't use *that* index—it stands today at 8.2 percent (5.7 percent unemployment plus 2.5 percent inflation), a historically handsome number. It's even lower than the percentage Clinton enjoyed in 1996 when he ran for reelection. Back then, a misery mark of 8.4 percent had the nation all atwitter over the unprecedented American prosperity.

While his concocted misery index may have fallen flat at home, Kerry is in good company abroad, where bashing Bush's domestic policies and the U.S. economy is all in vogue. The International Monetary Fund and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development are now scolding the U.S. for running large budget and trade deficits. These groups charge that Bush's deficits are restraining future growth worldwide. They want Bush to pursue "responsible" economic policies patterned after those of such nations as Sweden, France, Germany, and Japan.

And why ever would we do this? Over the past three years, the economic growth rate in the U.S. has been nearly twice what Europe and Japan have managed. On the jobs front, the nations of Western Europe have an average unemployment rate near 8 percent—fully two points higher than in the U.S. If our country suffered from Germany's level of unemployment, we'd have an army of unemployed equal to the population of Colorado. No, it's best that we not try to imitate European-style work rules, welfare policies, and tax rates.

What is arguably most impressive about America's economic performance under Bush is not that we're growing at a brisk pace, but that we're growing at all. Imagine that we had known in the summer of 2000 what we know today: that a bubble-bursting stock market would in 18 months liquidate $5 trillion in wealth; that a corporate accounting scandal would further shatter investor confidence; that a global recession would run alongside a U.S. recession; that a terrorist attack on U.S. soil would kill thousands of Americans and require massive new military expenditures; that a full-scale financial meltdown would occur in the nation's largest state, California, a place one in eight Americans call home. Who, knowing all of this in advance, would have dared think a 5 percent growth rate and an unemployment rate still less than 6 percent achievable as early as 2004? Most economists (including this one) would have thought such a rebound impossible.

Bush got one giant thing absolutely right: tax cuts.

So where did all this growth come from? The revitalization of the U.S. economy is mainly a testament to what George Gilder once described as the country's "pervasive spirit of capitalistic enterprise." The ability of our economy to get back on its feet so rapidly is especially impressive given that many administration and congressional policies have been counterproductive to the economy. For example, the surge in government spending and the flirtation with trade protectionism will not go down as proud moments for this Republican regime.

But Bush got one giant thing absolutely right: tax cuts. In particular, the president's tax plan of 2003—which lowered tax rates on income, capital gains, and dividends—was a well-timed steroid injection into the veins of the economy. The tax cuts helped lift the stock market by nearly 30 percent last year, just as supply-siders predicted. This, in turn, helped raise the overall level of wealth in the U.S. economy to a record $44 trillion. It is no coincidence that the growth spurt of 2003 began in the very month the pro-investment tax cuts were enacted.

The Kerry Democrats continue to preach that the Bush tax cuts were slanted to the super-wealthy, even though the percentage of all taxes paid by the richest 1 percent of tax filers actually *rose* following the Bush tax cuts. Moreover, almost two of every three of these "undeserving rich" in the highest income-tax bracket are small-business owners, according to the nonpartisan Tax Foundation. In other words, Bush and the GOP Congress cut taxes on wealth producers and job creators—and for that there is no need to apologize. If Kerry is hell-bent on raising taxes (by repealing the 2003 tax cuts) on these employers, how in the world is he going to get them to create more jobs?

Editorial writers at the *Wall Street Journal* recently summarized our economic condition, saying that like "Rodney Dangerfield, this is the recovery that can't get no respect." That's because conservative Republicans are

ROMAN GENN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer

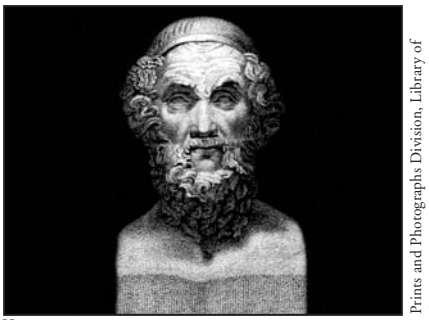
The timeless epics of Homer—memorably explored in 24 recorded lectures

When John Keats first read Chapman's translation of the epics of "deep-brow'd Homer," he was so overwhelmed, so overcome with the joy of discovery, that he compared his experience to finding "a new planet." When you join award-winning classics professor Elizabeth Vandiver of the University of Maryland for these lectures on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* you will come away understanding what enthralled Keats and has gripped so many readers of Homer.

Professor Vandiver makes it vividly clear why, after almost 3,000 years, the Homeric epics remain not only among the greatest adventure stories ever told, but also two of the most compelling meditations on the human condition ever written. Indeed, it is probably true to say that only the Bible rivals Homer for sheer depth and scope of cultural and literary influence.

How is this so? At first glance, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* tell of a long-dead epoch that seems utterly alien to us. Indeed, the Bronze Age Aegean was a distant memory even to the original audiences of these works.

Yet the grandeur and immediacy of the Homeric world seem to defy time and space. The bard depicts a legendary era in brilliant, unforgettable hues. And he peoples it with towering heroes who thirst for honor and fight shattering wars; voyage to strange lands on the shores of wine-dark seas; deal face-to-face with gods and monsters; and act out awesome passions for glory, love, and vengeance.



Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Homer.

Or perhaps age seems only to burnish the luster of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* precisely because of their very strangeness and distance, which throw so sharply into focus the timeless human issues that each raises.

These issues are evoked, in each poem, by the power of a single dramatic question: In the *Iliad,* why does Achilles rage? In the *Odyssey,* why does Odysseus long so powerfully to go home?

Around these questions the bard weaves a narrative that makes us ask many things, including: What are the limits of our freedom? Who or what shapes our actions and our ends? Is there a common humanity that we share, or is life only "a constant seeking of power after power"? What holds people together and keeps them going in extreme situations such as war or shipwreck? Why do we love our own so strongly? Where is the line between justice and revenge? And above all, what does it mean to be alive?

Professor Vandiver builds her analyses skillfully around meticulous, insightful examinations of the most important episodes in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. She explains the cultural assumptions that lie behind Homer's lines, and you'll join her in weighing the basic critical and interpretive issues. Professor Vandiver probes the relationship of the epics to traditional, orally transmitted poetry and surveys the archaeological evidence for an actual conflict.

But most importantly, she explains with passion and clarity why Homer remains our contemporary, and why a knowledge of his masterpieces can show you the way to heightened enjoyment and comprehension in all your encounters with literature.

Lecture Titles

The *Iliad* of Homer *(12 lectures)*
Introduction to Homeric Epic ... The Homeric Question ... Glory, Honor, and the Wrath of Achilles ... Within the Walls of Troy ... The Embassy to Achilles ... The Paradox of Glory ... The Role of the Gods ... The Longest Day ... The Death of Patroklos ... Achilles Returns to Battle ... Achilles and Hektor ... Enemies' Tears—Achilles and Priam

The *Odyssey* of Homer *(12 lectures)*
Heroes' Homecomings ... Guests and Hosts ... A Goddess and a Princess ... Odysseus Among the Phaiakians ... Odysseus Tells His Own Story ... From Persephone's Land to the Island of Helios ... The Goddess, the Swineherd, and the Beggar ... Reunion and Return ... Odysseus and Penelope ... Recognitions and Revenge ... Reunion and Resolution ... The Trojan War and the Archaeologists

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day
GREAT TEACHERS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.

SAVE UP TO $185!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JUNE 28, 2004

About The Teaching Company:

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 2,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

To order, mail or fax coupon below. Or call our toll-free number: (Please refer to Priority Code 16710)

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412) Fax: 703-378-3819 www.TEACH12.com/natr

THE Great Courses™
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 16710

Please send me **The *Iliad* and The *Odyssey* of Homer**, which consists of 24 half-hour lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $69.95** (reg. price $254.95) **SAVE $185!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Videotape $54.95** (reg. price $199.95) **SAVE $145!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $49.95** (reg. price $179.95) **SAVE $130!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $34.95** (reg. price $129.95) **SAVE $95!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

**Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQs page at www.teach12.com for details.*
***Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

☐ **Charge my**

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover Novus ☐ American Express

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Offer Good Through: June 28, 2004

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fleeing the debate and allowing the health of the economy to be defined by a cynical political class that actively roots against growth, jobs, and prosperity. Ironically, just two years ago, administration critics on the left were blaming President Bush for "talking down the economy."

Economist and investment adviser David Hale recently told me that the only thing apparently "holding the stock market back in 2004 is the risk element of a Kerry presidency." Today's prevailing economic mood, it seems, is a self-reinforcing circular algorithm: A blanket of pessimism raises the probability of a Kerry victory, which only further depresses the market, as investors rightly know that a President Kerry would mean the death of pro-growth tax policies. As we roll toward November, it seems that fear itself is what we have to fear most. All the more reason for conservatives to get the real story out on the Bush Boomlet—which by Election Day could very well be an honest-to-goodness boom. **NR**

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT

NRO nationalreview ONLINE

"National Review Online is must reading several times a day. There is breaking news, original reporting, trenchant analysis, engaging debates, valuable links, and great humor, from sophomoric to wry. Something for (nearly) everyone."

—Bill Schulz, editor at large, Reader's Digest

"NRO has the bravest—and sexiest—writers online. They're the Marines of conservative journalism . . . "

—Danielle Crittenden, author, amanda bright@home

www.nationalreview.com

■ POLITICS

El Chris

When it comes to Latin America policy—and beyond—Senator Dodd is (almost) in a class by himself

JOHN J. MILLER

"Oh, I'm just a typical American boy from a typical American town," sang Phil Ochs in the 1960s. "I believe in God and Senator Dodd and a-keepin' old Castro down."

The late folk singer was being facetious, of course. Like most of the counterculture, Ochs didn't really believe in a-keepin' old Castro down. But he would probably believe in today's Senator Dodd, the son of the man he targeted in his protest anthems back in the day. Christopher Dodd is all about a-proppin' old Castro up, along with many of the other left-wing rulers who have come to power in Latin America and the Caribbean. Dodd has built a career on attacking U.S. involvement in the Western Hemisphere, at least when there's a Republican in the White House. Most recently, he's been complaining about former Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide's unceremonious departure from power—and suggesting, without much evidence, that the Bush administration played a dark role in the ouster.

The first Senator Dodd—Thomas J. Dodd, also a Democrat—was not nearly as partisan. He was a leading anti-Communist who criticized JFK for ignoring Castro and supported Nixon during the Vietnam War. When voters rejected him in 1970, after fellow senators had censured him for misusing campaign funds, conservatives lost a useful foreign-policy ally.

The second Senator Dodd tries to honor his father's memory, at least when he accessorizes: He uses his dad's old desk, sits in his chair, and wears his pocket watch. Yet the two men couldn't be more different in their approaches to international affairs. "He was a strong anti-Communist and he was dead right," Dodd said of his pop some years ago. "But we have different ways of dealing with it."

Exactly opposite ones, to be precise. After entering Congress as a Watergate baby in 1974, Dodd: The Next Generation ran for the Senate in 1980 and defeated Republican James L. Buckley (brother of NATIONAL REVIEW's WFB). He quickly became a major irritant to President Reagan by successfully limiting aid to the government of El Salvador as it battled Communist rebels in the 1980s. Dodd didn't view conflicts in Central America through the prism of the Cold War. "These guys see Commies everywhere," he complained of conservatives, "they don't understand indigenous movements."

Many liberals looked to Dodd for leadership on Latin American matters because he had served as a Peace Corps volunteer in the Dominican Republic and spoke fluent Spanish. Yet some of his own party's more conservative members—lawmakers who shared the same values as the elder Dodd—were put off by his aggressiveness. When Dodd delivered the formal Democratic response to one of Reagan's speeches on Latin America, he charged the president with "unleashing the dogs of war" and tolerating "gangland style" executions. Sens. Lloyd Bentsen and Scoop Jackson thought Dodd had gone too far; House majority leader Jim Wright criticized his "florid rhetoric." Jeane Kirkpatrick, the onetime Democrat who became Reagan's ambassador to the United Nations, called his remarks "demagogic." In 1986, his Republican challenger, Roger W. Eddy, traveled around Connecticut calling Dodd "the senator from Communist Nicaragua."

None of it seemed to make a difference. Throughout the 1980s, Dodd was an invulnerable pol whose career appeared to be on a relentless upswing. He even achieved a kind of celebrity status for squiring the likes of Bianca Jagger around Washington. Later, he joked about his notorious bachelor-pad lifestyle. "In the '80s, the only thing I liked less than a quorum call was last call," he said. But his ambitions took a few hard knocks during the Clinton years. He lost a bid to become Democratic leader of the Senate by a single vote, accepted the post of general chairman of the Democratic National Committee just as the scandal over its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arabian Fables (I)

How the Arabs soften up world opinion with fanciful myths.

Josef Goebbels, the infamous propaganda minister of the Nazis, had it right. Just tell people big lies often enough and they will believe them. The Arabs have learned that lesson well. They have swayed world opinion by endlessly repeating myths and lies that have no basis in fact.

What are some of these myths?

The "Palestinians." That is the fundamental myth. The reality is that the concept of "Palestinians" is one that did not exist until about 1948, when the Arab inhabitants of what until then was Palestine, wished to differentiate themselves from the Jews. Until then, the Jews were the Palestinians. There was the Palestinian Brigade of Jewish volunteers in the British World War II Army (at a time when the Palestinian Arabs were in Berlin hatching plans with Adolf Hitler for world conquest and how to kill all the Jews); there was the Palestinian Symphony Orches- tra (all Jews, of course); there was *The Palestine Post*, and so much more.

> "The web of lies and myths that the Arab propaganda machine has created plays an important role in the unrelenting quest to destroy the State of Israel. What a shame that the world has accepted most of it!"

The Arabs, who now call themselves "Palestinians," do so in order to persuade a misinformed world that they are a distinct nationality and that "Palestine" is their ancestral homeland. But, of course, they are no distinct nationality at all. They are entirely the same — in language, customs, and tribal ties — as the Arabs of Syria, Jordan, and beyond. There is no more difference between the "Palestinians" and the other Arabs of those countries than there is between, say, the citizens of Minnesota and of Wisconsin.

What's more, many of the "Palestinians," or their immediate ancestors, came to the area attracted by the prosperity created by the Jews, in what previously had been pretty much of a wasteland.

The nationhood of the "Palestinians" is a myth.

The "West Bank." Again, this is a concept that did not exist until 1948, when the army of the Kingdom of Transjordan, together with five other Arab armies, invaded the Jewish state of Israel, on the very day of its creation.

In what can almost be described as a Biblical miracle, the ragtag Jewish forces defeated the combined Arab might. But Transjordan stayed in possession of the territories of Judea and Samaria and part of the city of Jerusalem. The Jordanians promptly expelled all Jews from the area that they occupied, destroyed all Jewish institutions and houses of worship, used Jewish cemetery headstones to build military latrines, and renamed as "West Bank" what had been Judea and Samaria since time immemorial.

The attempt, quite successful, was to persuade an uninformed world that these territories were ancestral parts of the Jordanian Arab Kingdom (itself a very recent creation of British power diplomacy). Even after the total rout of the Arabs in the 1967 Six-Day War, in which the Jordanians were driven out of Judea/Samaria and of Jerusalem, they and the world continued to call this territory the "West Bank", a geographical concept that cannot be found on any except the most recent maps.

The concept of the "West Bank" is a myth.

The "Occupied Territories." After the victorious Six-Day War, during which the Israeli army defeated the same cabal of Arabs that had invaded the country in 1948, Israel remained in possession of Judea/Samaria (now renamed "West Bank"), which the Jordanians had illegally occupied for 19 years; of the Gaza strip, which had been occupied by the Egyptians but which (hundreds of miles from Egypt proper) had never been part of their country; and of the Golan Heights, a plateau of about 400 square miles, which, though originally part of Palestine, had been ceded to Syria by British-French agreement.

The last sovereign in Judea/Samaria and in Gaza was the British mandatory power — and before it was the Ottoman Empire. All of Palestine, including what is now the Kingdom of Jordan, was, by the Balfour Declaration, destined to be the Jewish National Home. How then could the Israelis be "occupiers" in their own territory? Who would be the sovereign and who the rightful inhabitants?

The concept of "occupied territories" in reference to Judea/Samaria and Gaza is a myth created by Arab propaganda.

Unable so far to destroy Israel on the battlefield — though they are feverishly preparing for their next assault — the Arabs are now trying to overcome and destroy Israel by their acknowledged "policy of stages". That policy is to get as much land as possible carved out of Israel "by peaceful and diplomatic" means, so as to make Israel indefensible and softened up for the final assault. The web of lies and myths that the Arab propaganda machine has created plays an important role in the unrelenting quest to destroy the State of Israel. What a shame that the world has accepted most of it!

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501 (c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

To receive free FLAME updates, visit our website: www.factsandlogic.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

foreign fundraising was about to erupt, and finally found himself increasingly overshadowed by Connecticut's junior senator, Joe Lieberman. Even the *New York Times* editorial page began to chide him: Dodd "apparently never questioned the propriety of [Clinton's] sleazy fundraising, and his connection to it has tarnished his record." (The newspaper nevertheless endorsed him for re-election.) Dodd toyed with the idea of running for president this year, only to be boxed out by Lieberman's more realistic ambitions and the distinct sense that his own sell-by date had passed years earlier.

Which is not to say he won't remain comfortably ensconced in the Senate for as long as he wishes. He's up for a fifth term this fall and the GOP won't mount much of a challenge to him—which means that Dodd will continue to dominate Democratic policy on the Western Hemisphere well into the future. He would presumably play a crucial role in staffing the State Department for a President Kerry.

So far, he's been a persistent nuisance to the Bush administration, as he questions every budget item aimed at helping Cuba's dissident movement and fights the nominations of old Reagan-era foes like Otto Reich. Along the way, he has become a ready ally to some of the region's worst despots.

Take Hugo Chávez, the president of Venezuela and perhaps Castro's closest friend in the region. When Chávez was crushing opposition movements in his country with violence, Dodd hardly said a word. Then, during an April 2002 coup attempt (which Chávez may have orchestrated to consolidate his power), Dodd exploded with fury at the Bush administration. "To stand silent while the illegal ouster of a government is occurring is deeply troubling," he blustered. Officials charged with keeping tabs on Caracas, he added, need "more adult supervision."

It was like a scene from the 1980s, when Dodd hewed to the liberal doctrine of anti–anti-Communism: The senator didn't bother defending Chávez—a difficult task given the man's well-documented abuses of power—but he relished attacking Chávez's critics. He had become anti–anti-Chávez, demanding an inquiry from the State Department's inspector general on whether the Bush administration had encouraged a coup. A few months later, after an extensive investigation, the IG issued a report exonerating Reich and all the other people Dodd had hoped to see tainted. The senator must have been deeply disappointed by the result because he hasn't talked much about Chávez since—and he'll probably keep quiet as long as Chávez's controversial regime looks secure.

But Dodd is still hoping to find proof of an American plot to overthrow a foreign government, and now he has taken up the cause of Aristide, who fled Haiti on an American plane in February when it became clear he was no longer safe in Port-au-Prince. The American Left has rallied around the former president, who now insists that U.S. troops forced him into exile.

Instead of helping Aristide escape, Dodd says the U.S. should have rushed "to the aid of the beleaguered Aristide administration, a democratically elected government." Calling Aristide "democratically elected" is a stretch, considering that few people believe his election in 2000 was clean—or that his rule had been characterized by something other than the provocative abuses of power that sparked the popular uprising against him. As the anti-Aristide movement gained strength, in fact, the world's leading advocate for regime change in Haiti wasn't the unilateralist bully George W. Bush, but the dovish French foreign minister, Dominique de Villepin.

ROMAN GENN

Now that Aristide is gone—living in Jamaica and complaining about American actions that in fact may have saved him from the grim fate of a Ceausescu—Dodd says the U.S. should have done more in his behalf. Americans, he asserts, have an "obligation to come to the collective defense of struggling democracies like Haiti."

If that's the case, then where was Dodd when Bolivians overthrew the government of Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada last October? With its natural-gas resources and coca fields, Bolivia is arguably more important to American interests than impoverished Haiti. Moreover, Sánchez de Lozada's government was a fully accredited democracy and certainly more reputable than Aristide's. Unfortunately for Bolivia, it wound up on the wrong side of Dodd's double standard. When leftists depose a U.S.-friendly government, he couldn't care less.

And so the senator continues to press forward on Haiti. At a March 10 hearing, he demanded an investigation into whether the International Republican Institute, a federally funded organization that trains foreigners in the practice of democracy, had collaborated with Haitian rebels. The charge is absurd, given the fact that IRI personnel have not even operated in Haiti since 1999 because Aristide's thugs had made it unsafe for them to do so.

Even more ridiculous, however, were Dodd's musings about how a scheduled shipment of 20,000 M-16 rifles to the Dominican Republic may have wound up in the hands of Aristide's enemies. "Has the administration verified that this defense equipment has been used for the purpose it was intended?" he asked on March 10. As a simple phone call to the Pentagon would have told him, however, the guns never left the United States. The first partial delivery is supposed to arrive this spring.

Chalk it up as just one more conspiratorial fantasy that didn't pan out—and stay tuned for Dodd to cook up a brand-new one. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Back in SANDINISTA DAYS . . .

John Kerry now talks a moderate game; but what does the record say?

JAY NORDLINGER

HERE'S what you're not supposed to say about John Kerry: that he is a man of the Left; that he is a "Massachusetts liberal"; that he is the anti-Reagan (well, you can say that in some circles). No, now that he's the Democratic nominee, he is a man of the sensible center, in contrast to those Texas-fried radicals in the White House. Kerry the Nominee even enjoys getting to President Bush's right. Why, just the other day—appealing to Cuban-American voters in Florida—Kerry chided Bush for being a little soft on Hugo Chávez, the (democratically elected) strongman of Venezuela and one of Fidel Castro's best friends. The Bush people sputtered with indignation: The gall! But Kerry is acting cannily.

Canny or not, Kerry has a record on Latin America—a substantial one. You will recall the 1980s, and that decade's fierce debates over Central America policy. At the heart of these debates was Nicaragua: the Sandinistas, Castro, and the Soviet Union versus the Contras and the United States (or rather, not all of the United States: the Reagan administration, in particular). Kerry was an important player in all this. He was part of a group derided by Republicans as "'Dear Comandante' Democrats," for they would address letters to Daniel Ortega, the Sandinista No. 1, "Dear Comandante." ("But that's his title," they would plead, not unreasonably.) This group included such House members as Mike Barnes and Pete Kostmayer, and such senators as Chris Dodd and Tom Harkin—and John Kerry.

Only months after he was sworn in, Kerry joined Harkin on an infamous trip to Managua, to meet with Comandante Ortega. This was April 1985. The trip, according to an article in *Policy Review* magazine, was arranged by the Institute for Policy Studies, a hard-Left group. IPS was one of several such groups around Kerry back then. The trip, moreover, occurred a few days before a key vote in Congress on Contra aid—the bill proposed to send $14 million in humanitarian assistance to those anti-Communist rebels.

Said Kerry, "Senator Harkin and I are going to Nicaragua as Vietnam-era veterans who are alarmed that the Reagan administration is repeating the mistakes we made in Vietnam. Our foreign policy should represent the democratic values that have made our country great, not subvert those values by funding terrorism to overthrow governments of other countries." Note that, certainly by implication, the senator characterized the Contra resistance as "terrorism." In addition, "President Reagan has probably come closer to trying to interpret Vietnam in a positive way than either Presidents Ford or Carter. But this also lends itself to a revisionism about Vietnam that makes it easier for us to repeat our mistakes unwittingly."

As his plane touched down in Nicaragua, Kerry said, "Look at it. It reminds me so much of Vietnam. The same lushness, the tree lines." (This reporting comes from the *Washington Post*.) Vietnam was uppermost in his mind: "If you look back at the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, if you look back at the troops that were in Cambodia, the history of the body count and the misinterpretation of Vietnam itself, and look at how we are interpreting the struggle in Central America and examine the CIA involvement, the mining of the harbors, the effort to fund the Contras, there is a direct and unavoidable parallel between these two periods of our history." Said Kerry, "I see an enormous haughtiness in the United States trying to tell them [the Nicaraguans] what to do."

Finally, "These are just poor people, no money, no food, just like Vietnam, and they are just trying to stay alive. They just want

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peace. They don't want their daughter getting blown away on the way to teach! Or their sons disappearing. It's just terrible. I see the same sense of great victimization. The little kids staring wide-eyed and scared. It really hits home the same way as Vietnam. . . . If we haven't learned something by now about talking rather than fighting . . ."

Senators Kerry and Harkin returned to Washington with a kind of peace plan—Ortega was saying, Cut off all aid to the Contras, engage in bilateral talks with us, and we'll call a cease-fire and restore civil liberties. Kerry hailed this as "a wonderful opening." The Reagan administration was not impressed—in fact, it fumed. The State Department made clear that the Sandinistas had to talk to the Contras themselves, not to Washington: "Without such a dialogue, a cease-fire is meaningless—essentially a call for the opposition to surrender. The opposition is asked to accept Sandinista consolidation of a Marxist-Leninist order in Nicaragua." Secretary Shultz decried "self-appointed emissaries to the Communist regime" in Managua, and said, "We cannot conduct a successful policy when [such people] take trips or write 'Dear Comandante' letters with the aim of negotiating." Henry Kissinger added, "If the Nicaraguans want to make an offer, they ought to make it through diplomatic channels. We can't be negotiating with our own congressmen and Nicaragua simultaneously." Senator Goldwater called the Kerry-Harkin trip just "wrong, wrong, wrong."

John Kerry (left) and Tom Harkin (middle) on their visit to Daniel Ortega, April 1985. The woman is unidentified.

In the end, the trip backfired. Not long after the senators left him, Ortega flew off to Moscow, to affirm his alliance with the Soviets. Democratic leaders—Tip O'Neill in particular—were embarrassed.

But Kerry stayed unabashed in his position. He remarked to the *Christian Science Monitor*, "We negotiated with North Vietnam. Why can we not negotiate with a country smaller than North Carolina and with half the population of Massachusetts? It's beyond me." Kerry apparently never recognized the Nicaragua struggle as geopolitical. Referring to his onetime group, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, he said, "We were criticized when we stood up on Vietnam. . . . But we've been borne out. We were correct. Sometimes you just have to stand and hold your ground." Plus, "my desire to see us negotiate is as patriotic as anyone else's to see us fight." (Here he sounds much like the Kerry of 2004.)

Kerry's thinking on Nicaragua was in perfect consonance with the leftist thinking of the day (and of this day, for that matter); it would have been at home in the Latin American Studies department at Berkeley or Santa Cruz, for instance. Listen to his emotional speech on the Senate floor, delivered upon his return from Managua. Virtually every bromide, every tic, is there.

> It is not just the fact that American youth may be called on once again to fight and to die in the jungles and mountains of another Third World country. It is not just that that weighs on my conscience today. . . . It is the fact that the grinding poverty in that area is so real and apparent, the legacy of a brutal dictatorship installed by American force some 50 years ago and which in concert with a tiny economic elite plundered the natural resources of the countryside while more than 80 percent of the population were forced to eke out a meager subsistence for themselves and their families. . . . If there is one guarantee of increasing the Soviet presence in Nicaragua, it will be to force that government into no other choice but that of turning to the Soviet Union. . . . [T]his administration seems to protect American interests by wanting to continue the process of escalating killing . . . Here, Mr. President, in writing, is a guarantee of the security interest of the United States.

In this last sentence, he was referring to the aide-memoire pressed into his hand by Ortega: a *guarantee*. At the end of his speech, Kerry said, "My generation, and a lot of us, grew up with the phrase 'Give peace a chance,' as part of a song that captured a lot of people's imagination. I hope that the president of the United States will give peace a chance."

Ultimately, the outcome in Nicaragua was democratic, as throughout Central America. In fact, this is one of the great achievements of our times, unheralded as it may be. (For one thing, few on the left are willing to do any heralding.) When Violeta Chamorro won election in Nicaragua—February 1990—an interviewer asked Kerry, "Does this mean the United States did the right thing all those years by funding the Contras?" Replied Kerry, "Well, I think that's almost an irrelevant debate right now. I don't happen to believe that, because many of us believe it could have been a different form of pressure. But the important thing now is that the election has taken place. I really think it's more of a triumph of multi-nation diplomacy." Sure.

THE KERRY COMMITTEE

Kerry gained further fame—or infamy, depending on your point of view—as head of "the Kerry Committee," more formally the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics, and International Operations. In this period—the late 1980s—Kerry devoted himself to trying to prove that the Contras were drug-runners; he was particularly interested in linking Vice President Bush to this criminality (as Bush was running for president). The Kerry Committee never accomplished its objective, but it attracted a lot of media attention and damaged individual reputations. On this committee, all the hopes, energies, and notions of IPS, the Christic Institute, CISPES, and the rest of that now-forgotten crowd came together.

Leading the charge were Kerry's staff men, such as Jonathan Winer (still a Kerry foreign-policy adviser) and the notorious Jack Blum. This latter is considered by some Republicans a sort of Roy Cohn of the Left. One GOP aide from the period describes Kerry's people as "drooling fanatics": "Kennedy's people were liberal, to be sure, and so were Dodd's. But Kerry's people were much more rabid. They promoted the most bizarre conspiracy theories around." You have to remember, says this aide: "There was a real fruity network of goofball and semi-subversive people,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Black Listed Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

Baltimore, MD— As unbelievable as it seems the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at a prominent New York hospial rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that **"shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!"** 90 minutes later they were gone... Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life saving treatment worked miracles.

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Award nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet, healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods (found on page 134) not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! "Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated." Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

What's more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer & Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

They walked away from traditional cancer treatments... and were healed! Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* you'll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

"I bought *How to Fight Cancer & Win* and this has to be the greatest book I've ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today." —*Hugh M.*

"I can't find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer & Win*.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was 1.2." —*Duncan M.*

"In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more 'down to earth,' practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure." —*Edward S.,M.D.*

Claim your book today and learn all the details about these safe, natural cancer-fighting options.

To get your copy of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* visit our website at www.agorahealthbooks.com/nrev9 or call **1-888-821-3609 and ask for code P6E5K** to order by credit card. Or write "Fight Cancer—Dept. P6E5K" on a plain piece of paper with your name, address, phone number (in case we have a question about your order) and mail it with a check for $19.95 plus $5.00 shipping to:

Agora Health Books
Dept. P6E5K
P.O. Box 925
Frederick, MD 21705-9838

If you are not completely satisfied, return the book within one year for a complete and total refund—no questions asked. This will probably be the most important information you and your loved ones receive—so order today!

ID# P6E5K

©2004 Agora Health Books, LLC

and Kerry ran with those people. He was always a bit aloof himself, but you can tell a lot about politicians by the people they let in. These weren't liberals. They had a shockingly hostile attitude toward the United States—our military, our intelligence community, our policies."

A second Latin America expert on the Republican side was Mark Falcoff, long since with the American Enterprise Institute. Though the Kerry Committee "never proved anything," he says, "they used an enormous amount of time. I mean, you can't imagine the wild-goose chases." As for Kerry himself, "I found him a bully. If I could use one word, it would be that: He was a bully."

One man who was subjected to this bullying was Felix Rodriguez, the legendary CIA operative. He was present in Che Guevara's last hours; he also grew close to the first Bush. According to Rodriguez's memoirs, *Shadow Warrior*, the Kerry Committee let it be known to the press that a convicted money launderer for the Colombian drug cartel had accused him of soliciting $10 million for the Contras. The committee was also "fueling speculation" that Rodriguez, "and, by extension, Vice President Bush," were "somehow" involved in drug trafficking.

The committee subpoenaed Rodriguez, but, to his chagrin, insisted on a closed hearing. Of his encounter with Kerry, Rodriguez writes, "Obviously, what he wanted was to connect the Vice President and the top Contra leadership to drugs." But at one point, Kerry's questioning sharply veered off: "He wanted to know all the details of Che's capture [in 1967]. He even asked me somewhat sarcastically why I did not fight harder to save Che's life." There followed an extraordinary exchange—again, according to Rodriguez.

I said, "Senator, this has been the hardest testimony I ever gave in my life."

He looked up, glasses perched on his nose. "Why?"

"Because, sir, it is extremely difficult to have to answer questions from someone you do not respect." . . .

I told him outright, "Senator, my name was leaked by your committee as being involved with drugs. I take that very seriously because it affects my family, my reputation, and my friends."

Kerry looked at me sternly and said, "You're making a very serious accusation, because this committee doesn't leak."

"Senator, leaked or not it was in every goddamned newspaper that, at one of your *closed* committee hearings, Ramón Milian Rodríguez said I solicited money. That is a damned lie."

Felix Rodriguez wanted his testimony made available to the public, but "Kerry and Blum" refused. So he called a press conference, to give his side. Eleven months later—after considerable pressure (Republican pressure)—Rodriguez got a chance to testify in open hearing. Kerry now said that he believed the witness. "I was gratified by [the senator's] statement."

EL SALVADOR, GRENADA, CUBA . . .

When it came to Latin America policy at large, Kerry almost always ran with the Left crowd, but at least once he stood alone. In December 1985, he was the only senator to vote against money for police training in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Costa Rica. Even Senator Dodd voted for it. Yet another Republican Latin America specialist reflects, "Kerry aligned himself with all the leftist-chic causes, and he was virulently anti-Reagan. And he never apologized for it, never showed any regret, in light of how things have turned out in Central America. I mean, really: In El Salvador, they just had an election in which a tired old leftist guerrilla lost to a conservative candidate. Instead of meeting on the battlefield, they met at the ballot box. Everything was peaceful. The other countries are doing the same thing." And will Kerry give no credit to the policies he tried to stop?

A disdain for American power has been part and parcel of the senator's attitude. He was quite sniffy about the invasion of Grenada, for example. He compared it to "Boston College playing football against the Sisters of Mercy." (It's funny how the Democrats were in harmony. Madeleine Albright—the future secretary of state—said, "It was the [Washington] Redskins versus the Little Sisters of the Poor, and the score was 101 to nothing.") Kerry added, "The invasion of Grenada represents the Reagan policy of substituting public relations for diplomatic relations . . . The invasion represented a bully's show of force against a weak Third World nation. The invasion only served to heighten world tensions and further strain brittle U.S.–Soviet and North–South relations." Ponder that: The possible next president interpreted Grenada as "a bully's show of force against a weak Third World nation."

A disdain for American power has been part and parcel of the senator's attitude.

Needless to say, Kerry talks a little differently now. But has he changed his mind, or is he merely the Democratic nominee? For the benefit of South Florida, he's claiming to be a big anti-Castroite: "I don't like Fidel Castro. Some people have cottoned to him in our party [now there's an admission!] and go down and visit. I went to Cuba once and I purposely said I don't want to." That statement was a little mysterious. Kerry has also said, "I'm pretty tough on Castro, because I think he's running one of the last vestiges of a Stalinist, secret-police government in the world. And I voted for the Helms-Burton legislation to be tough on companies that deal with him." That was a little mysterious too, for Kerry was one of only 22 senators to vote against Helms-Burton. His campaign later explained that he had voted for an early version of the bill, objecting to the final one because of Title III: which allows Americans whose property was stolen to sue foreign companies acquiring that property.

Kerry has—or had—long been a critic of U.S. policy on Cuba. In 2000, he said that "the only reason we don't re-evaluate the policy is the politics of Florida." Speaking of the politics of Florida: Lincoln Diaz-Balart, a congressman from Miami, says, "I have had to fight consistently against John Kerry for years. Every time there has been an effort to unilaterally provide the Cuban dictatorship with trade financing or tourism dollars, John Kerry has stood" with the unilateralists. Just recently, Kerry had this to say about the return of Elián González to Cuba (Elián was the boy plucked from the ocean): "I didn't agree with that." But he had supported the Clinton administration. Kerry, forced to elaborate, said, "I didn't like the way they did it. I thought the process was butchered." At the time of the Elián drama, Kerry said, "There's obviously, now, a fair amount of sort of Cold War rhetoric. I would hope both countries would view this as an opportunity to reach beyond that, to find a new opening of opportunity for how we resolve this kind of issue." *Both countries*: the Castro regime and the United States. That's how John Kerry, pre-nomination, used to talk.

You will recall that, in March, Kerry stated that most foreign leaders were rooting for him. Then Kerry started receiving the wrong kind of endorsements. Mahathir Mohamad, the flamingly anti-Semitic Malaysian, came out for him, and so did Hugo Chávez in Venezuela. The campaign had to react. Kerry decided to assert that the Bush administration wasn't doing enough to aid Chávez's opponents. Moreover, this belonged to a pattern of "sending mixed signals by supporting undemocratic processes in our own hemisphere." Huh? Come again? Kerry was pandering to South Florida (which, in addition to Cubans, has a growing population of Venezuelans). Latin Americanists in the Bush administration were beside themselves. When a coup attempt against Chávez occurred in April 2002, many Democrats accused them (without proof) of abetting the plotters, and thereby betraying Venezuelan democracy. And now Kerry was saying that Bush was soft on Chávez!

To add insult to injury, Kerry had just gotten through denouncing the administration for failing to prop up the "democratic" leader of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was forced to flee (with U.S. help). Kerry said that Bush should have sent troops to save Haitian "democracy." And yet, both Chávez and Aristide were technically elected. Some Republicans want to know, What is the Kerry Doctrine, exactly? Try to overthrow democratically elected leftist tyrants in Venezuela while sending troops to save democratically elected leftist tyrants in Haiti? One former senior intelligence official dealt with Kerry in the mid-1990s, when the issue of Aristide was hot: "We knew that Aristide was a pretty bad guy, and not the most stable individual, either." But "Kerry was a cheerleader for Aristide, regardless of the evidence, despite what we knew. It was one of those sacred, progressive positions you were supposed to take—to be for Aristide. He was a cheerleader for Aristide, just as he had been a cheerleader for the Sandinistas."

If Kerry has "evolved," as we say, more power to him. Everyone appreciates a politician who grows, in the right direction (to use Hugo Chávez's language). But Kerry has given no trustworthy indication of such growth. He seems merely to be engaged in some rhetorical adjustments, necessary to an American general election. When it comes to Latin America—and to the Western Hemisphere more broadly, and to other things—the record shows that he has not exactly been a moderate. No, not exactly. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ POLITICS II

They Wish They Had a Hammer

The need to 'get' Tom DeLay, Congress's most effective Republican

KATE O'BEIRNE

THE single most effective member of the congressional majority is bound to be the top target of the political minority. When he is as aggressive and creative as Majority Leader Tom "The Hammer" DeLay, his frustrated enemies are as aggressively creative in drumming up allegations in the hope of bringing him down. The most recent charges leveled at DeLay revolve around laws not broken, bad things he didn't do, and the good he does do; these accusations have no more merit than the phony charges DeLay has fought off in the past.

Republican congressman Eric Cantor of Virginia explains why DeLay is the Democrats' target of choice: "He outworks, out-hustles, out-thinks them, and then out-strategizes them when it comes to floor action." Cantor believes that Democrats view a Republican congressional majority as so contrary to the natural political order that only deceit can explain Republican success. One of Cantor's more liberal Republican colleagues, Fred Upton of Michigan, agrees, saying DeLay is a target because "he's kept his head above the foxhole. We've had a ton of victories this year. I think he's damn effective."

Since 1994, owing to DeLay's remarkably effective whip operation, Republicans have repeatedly passed conservative measures despite their narrow margin in the House. DeLay's support in the GOP caucus is based on both his effectiveness as a leader and his careful tending to the morale and political needs of his troops; his genuine popularity among Republicans contradicts Democrats' caricature of him as an abusive ideologue. Upton, a Republican who doesn't reliably toe the leadership's line, dryly notes: "He's not about to put our fingers in the drawer and slam it."

DEMONIZING THE WHIP

No wonder Democrats' frustration with DeLay was the main topic of discussion at a leadership luncheon in early March, where their House leaders discussed their aim of demonizing

From our Catalogue

What is Political Science?

The abiding problem of politics is ordering the conditions of life in a humanly satisfying way through the creation of objectively effective and subjectively meaningful institutions. Political order is constituted by symbols which represent what is conceived as the truth about the world and our nature as a part within it. The substance of political existence is psyche and hence the discourse that arises from it will always be hermeneutic. Political society is the space we create as historical beings through spiritual freedom. In political existence, institutions replace instinct and meaning replaces need. Political activity is a human vocation common to all. It cannot be avoided and must be responded to. It is the weakness of modern political consciousness to think that we can be so transformed as to be delivered from history while acting in history, and from political concerns while living in political society, or that the desperate modern situation renders political activity worthless. Mature political wisdom knows that neither history nor fate can be bypassed.

The Thomas More College of Liberal Arts was founded in 1978 by Catholic educators and emphasizes a return to the sources. College President and co-founder Peter V. Sampo, Ph.D. is available to lecture on *The Renewal of Christian Culture through Catholic Higher Education*.

800-880-8308
www.thomasmorecollege.edu
MERRIMACK, NH & ROME, ITALY

The Thomas More College of Liberal Arts

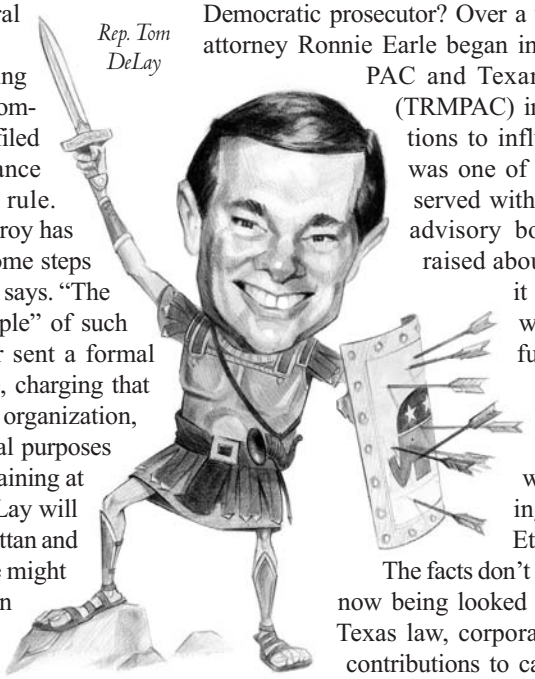
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DeLay, running against him much as they had against Newt Gingrich. An article in *The Hill* newspaper, "Newtering DeLay Is Dems' Aim," reported on the Democrats' desire to damage Republicans in competitive districts by tying them to their majority leader. Their theory is that DeLay's conservative politics make him unpalatable in liberal GOP districts. Media reports—some sloppy, most hostile—about the charges swirling around DeLay complement this strategy by alleging that the senior lawmaker is a serial lawbreaker.

Before the 2000 congressional elections, the Democratic members launched an abusive lawsuit—accusing DeLay of "extortion" in order to allege a violation under the RICO statute that was designed to help federal prosecutors tackle organized crime. (Never mind that "extortion" under the statute means the threat of the use of force.) The theory was that DeLay had "extorted" money and then in a Tony Soprano-like "enterprise" gave it to groups that hadn't registered properly with the Federal Election Commission. With evidence culled from newspaper clippings, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee sued DeLay and a couple of conservative issue-advocacy groups (called "527 committees") whose fundraising letters he signed. Fred Wertheimer, who heads the government watchdog Democracy 21, was one of the few outsiders willing to defend the RICO suit. "You wind up with a choice of doing nothing or looking for creative ways to stop practices like DeLay's," he said. While Wertheimer remains opposed to how 527 groups operate politically, he no longer advocates RICO suits as the remedy.

After the 2000 elections, the Democrats dropped the RICO suit. Insiders admitted that the case was designed to learn what DeLay was up to and to scare off contributors by threatening subpoenas. Defending against the suit cost DeLay and the groups over $600,000. For some Democrats, DeLay's real offense must have been electing conservatives to office: The Democratic lawyer who brought the DCCC's suit against the conservative groups is now *defending* liberal 527 groups against an FEC complaint filed by the Republicans. (George Soros, incidentally, funds both the liberal advocacy groups and Democracy 21.)

Fred Wertheimer has a new strategy: complaining that the House Ethics Committee will investigate complaints against congressmen only when they are filed by fellow congressmen. Veteran campaign-finance lawyer James Bopp defends the committee's rule. "Filing unwarranted complaints to smear and destroy has become so prevalent that politicians are taking some steps to protect themselves, and I don't blame them," he says. "The RICO suit against Tom DeLay is a prime example" of such unwarranted complaints. In March, Wertheimer sent a formal complaint about DeLay to the Ethics Committee, charging that DeLay plans to misuse a tax-exempt charitable organization, Celebrations for Children, Inc. (CFC), for political purposes by having the charity pick up the tab for his entertaining at the GOP convention in New York. Of course, DeLay will be on the invite list for every lavish event in Manhattan and faces no shortage of rich sponsors for any event he might want to host; no congressman, therefore, has been willing to call for an investigation of DeLay on this ridiculous charge.



Rep. Tom DeLay

DARREN GYGI

THE GOOD GUYS

DeLay has agreed to host some high-ticket events to benefit CFC at the convention; donors will get a tax break for attending them. The charity expects to net over 75 percent of proceeds for its cause, and is in the process of getting approval for its events from the House Ethics Committee. (During convention week, Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist plans to host an event to benefit HIV/AIDS charities he has volunteered for over the last years.) DeLay's commitment to this charity is demonstrably sincere. He and his wife have served as foster parents, and his activism in behalf of foster children is credited with raising about $6 million in the Houston area over the past ten years. His own foundation has launched a campaign to raise funds for a 50-acre community in Richmond, Texas, for 240 abused and neglected children. DeLay and Sen. Hillary Clinton have shared honors from the Orphan Foundation of America. "I respect his commitment to these issues," Senator Clinton says.

A few years ago, following the killing of a two-year-old who had been returned to her abusive mother by court order, DeLay successfully fought for reform of the District of Columbia's family-court system. Even the hostile Texas media, in their own way, have taken notice of his commitment to abused children: A columnist for the *Houston Chronicle* credited DeLay's genuine concern for the D.C. reform, and allowed that even "Beelzebub probably gets one right every millennium or so."

But Democrats are working against DeLay back home in Texas as well. In 2002, Republicans won a comfortable majority in the Texas senate and won control of the house for the first time in 130 years. That same year, congressional Republicans won over 56 percent of the statewide vote, but won only 47 percent of Texas's congressional seats. The redistricting plan approved by the new legislature is expected to add between four and seven Republicans to DeLay's majority.

Naturally, both parties spent lots of money in Texas's high-stakes 2002 elections. Can you guess which party's spending caught the interest of local "watchdog" groups and the local Democratic prosecutor? Over a year ago, Travis County district attorney Ronnie Earle began investigating whether a business PAC and Texans for a Republican Majority (TRMPAC) improperly used corporate donations to influence legislative races. DeLay was one of the founders of TRMPAC and served with four GOP state officials on its advisory board. In 2002, the committee raised about $1.5 million, about a third of it in corporate donations. If there was anything improper about its fundraising, donors, or expenditures, the committee was hiding in plain sight; detailed information about all of its transactions was publicly available from filings with the IRS and the Texas Ethics Commission.

The facts don't appear to be in dispute in the case now being looked at by a third grand jury. Under Texas law, corporations cannot make soft-money contributions to candidates, but can establish and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

administer corporate PACs. Corporate officers and employees can make individual contributions to candidates through such a PAC. But TRMPAC was *not* established or administered by a corporation; it was a general-purpose PAC, organized to help Republicans in a manner clearly not contemplated by an election code that only specifically governs campaign spending by corporations and labor organizations.

According to Andrew Taylor, a former first assistant attorney general of Texas, who is representing the business PAC under investigation, "This case falls apart because there is not a single statute in the Texas Election Code that applies to TRMPAC," so the prosecutors "have a legal mountain to overcome." Taylor explains that criminal charges cannot rest on analogies to other kinds of groups whose behavior is proscribed, because "the election statutes all require a finding of knowledge and intent to engage in conduct in violation of the code." Regarding the legal basis for the investigation, Taylor concludes, "If you don't like the law, change the law. But don't use the prosecutor's office to punish those who complied with the law."

Although DeLay is always mentioned in gleeful stories about the investigations, his connection to the kind of decisions now in question is so tenuous that the *Houston Chronicle* has lamely called him the "guiding spirit" of TRMPAC. According to Taylor, "DeLay did not take part in any of the decisions at issue in this investigation. I fervently believe TRMPAC did nothing illegal whatsoever. I can guarantee if someone disagrees with that, it will never be connected to Tom DeLay."

Texas congressman John Carter, a Republican and a former state judge, says: "It's just an investigation for now. I personally don't think a valid indictment would come out of this." Travis County, he says, is "the heart and soul of the Democratic hierarchy in the state." And as for Democratic DA Ronnie Earle, "This isn't his first rodeo. I think common sense will prevail."

Ronnie Earle has a history. He had already been in office 18 years when, in 1993, he indicted Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison. Five days after Hutchison's landslide win in a special election, Earle announced an investigation of her tenure as state treasurer and raided her offices. She was charged with one misdemeanor and four felonies for allegedly misusing her office. After she was indicted, and re-indicted, the trial judge finally ordered her acquittal after Earle refused to present his case. Senator Hutchison said at the time that Earle's action was "unconscionable," and an effort to return her Senate seat to Democratic hands through legal action. About Ronnie Earle's current investigation of TRMPAC and the Texas Republicans, Hutchison says, "[He] has shown his willingness to abuse his office for political reasons in the past. I hope he's not doing it again."

Andrew Taylor believes that is exactly what Earle is doing. He explains that owing to fear of being investigated, corporations are spending less soft money for candidates this year than in 2002; the GOP groups have also been vilified in the media. Taylor recounts that within minutes of the delivery of a subpoena from Ronnie Earle's office to his client last year—a document that expressly prohibited its disclosure—a TV camera was outside his client's door and a reporter with his own copy of the supposedly confidential subpoena was on the phone inquiring about it. "In some ways [Earle has] already achieved his goals. If he's crazy enough to indict, judges will throw it out and juries won't convict."

While Tom DeLay may have been the "guiding spirit" of TRMPAC, he has no connection, temporal or spiritual, with the charges swirling around two of his former associates. There is a U.S. Senate investigation of a veteran Republican lobbyist and a public-relations consultant for the $45 million in fees they've been paid by casino-rich Indian tribes over the past three years to represent them on gambling issues. Sen. John McCain rightly calls the fees "disgraceful"—but so too is the repeated, irrelevant identification of the PR consultant, Michael Scanlon, as "a former aide to House majority leader Tom DeLay." According to DeLay's chief of staff, "Scanlon hasn't been in our office for three years. Why would he? Congressman DeLay is against gaming."

It's Democrats who are gambling that some combination of accusations, however lame or unsubstantiated, will finally be the undoing of their nemesis-in-chief. They shouldn't bet on it. **NR**

The Sound of Great Ideas!

The 26 audio cassettes listed here were chosen by a panel of experts who were asked to select only tapes which would be timely and relevant. Each has passed the simple test of genuine interest: "Would you want to listen to this tape again?"

HEAR these famous speakers:

- (A) **Barry Goldwater:** *Conscience of a Conservative* (58 min.)
- (B) **William Buckley & Dr. Harold Taylor:** *Academic Freedom, 1966* (50 min.)
- (C) **General Douglas MacArthur:** *Old Soldiers Never Die* (35 min.)
- (D) **Noam Chomsky:** *Government in the Future* (57 min.)
- (E) **Alistair Cooke:** *America: An Outside View* (55 min.)
- (F) **Edward De Bono:** *How to Change Ideas* (55 min.)
- (G) **Jacob Bronowski:** *The Ascent of Man* (55 min.)
- (H) **Carlos Castaneda:** *Don Juan: The Sorcerer* (38 min.)
- (I) **Joseph Mazzeo:** *Machiavelli: Practical Politician or Devil?* (50 min.)
- (J) **Jacques Barzun:** *Present-Day Thoughts on the Quality of Life* (31 min.)
- (K) **Gilbert Highet:** *The Art of Invective/A Bouquet of Poison Ivy* (30 min.)
- (L) **Buckminster Fuller:** *Twentieth-Century Renaissance* (55 min.)
- (M) **Ashley Montagu:** *The Nature of Human Nature* (48 min.)
- (N) **Otto Bettman:** *The Good Old Days: They Were Terrible* (55 min.)
- (O) **Carl Rogers:** *Toward a Science of the Person* (65 min.
- (P) **G. Wilson Knight:** *Shakespeare and the English Language* (30 min.)
- (Q) **Arnold Toynbee:** *The Ancient Mediterranean View of Man* (24 min.)
- (R) **Edwin Newman:** *Decline and Fall of American Language* (55 min.)
- (S) **A. Szent-Gyorgyi:** *Misplaced Ideas about Democracy* (25 min.)
- (T) **Groucho Marx:** *Fast Mind, Faster Mouth* (60 min.)
- (U) **Albert Schweitzer:** *On Goethe (trans. by Thornton Wilder)* (80 min.)
- (V) **Milton Friedman:** *The Role of Government in Our Society* (58 min.)
- (W) **Ludwig von Mises:** *Why Socialism Always Fails* (86 min.)
- (X) **Bruno Bettelheim:** *Man's Identity in a Mass Society* (48 min.)
- (Y) **Winston Churchill:** *We Await Undismayed the Pending Assault* (20 min.)
- (Z) **R. Ornstein & D. Galin:** *Our Two Brains: Rational & Intuitive* (56 min.)

☐**YES!** Please send me the following selections at $9.95 each plus $1.00 shipping charge for the first tape, and 50¢ for each additional tape. (For shipments to CT, please add 6% sales tax.)

I understand that for every 3 cassettes I order, I will get one FREE!

Selections: ◯◯◯ ◯◯◯

Free selection: ◯ ◯

NAME (Print)

ADDRESS APT#

CITY, STATE, ZIP

Total amount of order: $_____
(Including tax and shipping)

☐ Check or money order enclosed

☐ VISA ☐ Discover Card
☐ Master Card ☐ Diners Club
☐ American Express ☐ Carte Blanche

CARD #

EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

Mail To: AUDIO-FORUM®
Room G504, 1 Orchard Park Road
Madison, CT 06443 USA
(203) 245-0195 • fax (888) 453-4329

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE LAW

Supreme Court Rulings in a Time of War

Three cases, now being tried

DAVID B. RIVKIN JR. & LEE A. CASEY

On April 20, the Supreme Court began hearing arguments in a series of cases arising from the War on Terror, and its rulings will be some of the most consequential in American history. Two of the cases, *Rumsfeld* v. *Padilla* and *Hamdi* v. *Rumsfeld*, were brought on behalf of American citizens who are being held, in the United States, as "enemy combatants." The third, *Rasul* v. *Bush*, involves the detention of non-U.S. al-Qaeda and Taliban prisoners at the Guantánamo Bay Naval Station in Cuba, and the extent to which the federal courts can assert jurisdiction over them. While these cases implicate a variety of legal questions, the key underlying issue is the government's right, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and including the laws and customs of war, to capture and detain individuals it believes are al-Qaeda, or allied, operatives.

Some of those arguing for the Guantánamo detainees, as well as for Padilla and Hamdi, claim that these men must be promptly tried as criminal suspects (in either civilian or military courts) or freed. Others want some hybrid system established, so as to import criminal-law-type procedures into detention decisions. The Bush administration, however, maintains that the detainees are prisoners captured during war, who may lawfully be held without trial and without access to lawyers until the end of hostilities.

The Supreme Court's decisions in these cases will profoundly affect how the War on Terror is fought, and its prospects for ultimate success. At stake is whether the United States can continue to fight al-Qaeda using military means, or whether it must return to the discredited and unsuccessful pre-September 11 policy of treating the terrorist threat primarily as a criminal-law-enforcement matter.

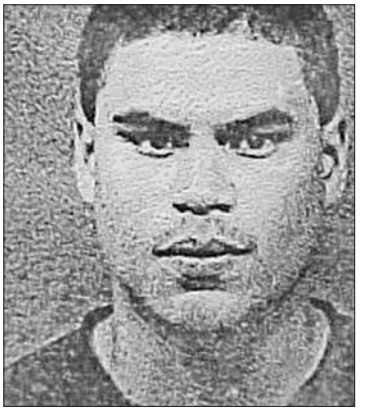
Messrs. Rivkin and Casey are partners in the Washington office of Baker & Hostetler LLP and filed an amicus brief supporting the administration's position in the Guantánamo case.

Under the international laws of war, a belligerent's right to capture and to hold enemy combatants is well established and universally accepted. For that reason, the president, as commander in chief, has exercised the authority to take prisoners in all of America's conflicts. During the two world wars, for instance, hundreds of thousands of enemy combatants were captured and held "indefinitely," i.e., until those wars ended. Some of these captives were, in fact, American citizens—and the detention of U.S. citizens was upheld by the courts. Indeed, in the 1942 *Ex parte Quirin* case, the Supreme Court made clear that an American who ranges himself against the United States is fully subject to the laws of war as an enemy combatant, regardless of his citizenship or nationality.

For those who claim that the Bush administration invented the status of "enemy combatant"—"one of the most dangerous legal developments in years," according to a woefully misinformed *New York Times* editorial—*Quirin* represents something of a problem, especially since the opinion was issued four years before the president's birth. The case involved the capture and trial of eight Nazi agents. These men had been trained as saboteurs by German intelligence, and were dispatched by submarine to the United States with orders to attack industrial and military sites. In its decision, the Supreme Court upheld President Franklin Roosevelt's right to detain and try these men by military commission as enemy combatants. Six of them, including Herbie Haupt, a 22-year-old American citizen, were electrocuted.

Notably, the *Quirin* Court also made clear the critical distinction between "lawful" or "privileged" combatants, and "unlawful" or "unprivileged" combatants. Unlawful combatants—those who do not wear uniforms, carry their arms openly, or otherwise operate in compliance with the most basic requirements of the laws of war—are subject to military trial and are not entitled to the elaborate rights and privileges accorded to honorable prisoners of war under the 1949 Geneva Conventions, which are reserved to lawful combatants.

It is because of these well-established legal rules that the Guantánamo detainees, although classified as enemy combatants, have been denied POW status, and can be prosecuted under military law, and in military courts. Historically, suppression of unlawful combatants, who by definition operate without regard for military discipline and the rules of war, has been an important policy priority of all civilized nations. In short, both the term and status of "enemy combatant" and "unlawful enemy combatant" long pre-date September 11, and are among the legal concepts that the Supreme Court will have to apply in deciding the *Padilla*, *Hamdi*, and *Rasul* cases, each of which, naturally, presents somewhat different facts.



Padilla

NOTIMEX

THE THREE CASES

The first up is *Rasul* v.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bush, where the justices will decide whether U.S. courts may even consider the legality of detaining non-U.S. nationals at Guantánamo Bay. Although Cuba leased Guantánamo Bay to the United States in 1903 on very favorable terms, Havana retained sovereignty over the area. As a result, the base falls squarely within existing precedents that limit exercises of federal judicial authority beyond U.S. territory. The most important of these precedents is *Johnson* v. *Eisentrager* (1950), which involved efforts by several German nationals—captured in China near the close of World War II and tried by U.S. military commission, and then imprisoned in Germany—to have their convictions reviewed by the U.S. courts. In an opinion by Justice Robert Jackson, the Supreme Court rejected these petitions, reasoning that federal court jurisdiction did not extend to aliens being held by U.S. forces abroad. The Court should take the opportunity to reaffirm *Eisentrager*.

Nevertheless, the very fact that the justices are considering the matter at all gives the lie to one of the more outrageous claims advanced by the president's critics: that Guantánamo constitutes some kind of legal black hole. Moreover, if the Court concludes that the individual Guantánamo cases are not subject to judicial scrutiny, this will not turn the base into a law-free zone—the laws of war will continue to apply there. The courts, it should always be recalled, are not the only means of enforcing the Constitution and laws, and the absence of judicial review does not suggest the absence of law. Instead, as the *Eisentrager* Court noted, "responsibility for observance and enforcement of these rights [fell] upon political and military authorities."

Although the *Rasul* case turns on how the Supreme Court interprets its own authority, at issue in the other two cases of Hamdi and Padilla is whether President Bush has properly interpreted his constitutional powers, and correctly applied the laws of war in the fight against al-Qaeda.

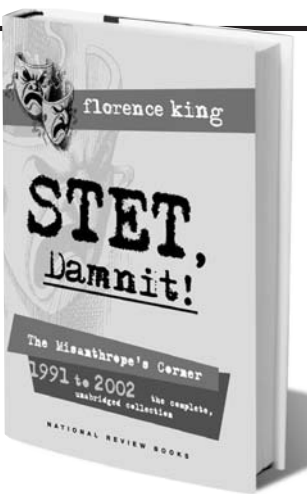
The *Hamdi* case involves a Saudi national captured in Afghanistan who, on account of his birth in Louisiana, is also an American citizen. Owing to this citizenship, Hamdi was transferred from Guantánamo to Virginia, and is now being held in the Charleston, S.C., Navy brig. He is clearly within the territorial reach of the federal courts, and the writ of habeas corpus is available. However, having considered his case, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, sitting in Richmond, decisively affirmed the president's right to take and hold Hamdi as a battlefield detainee. As the court noted in its opinion, the president's constitutional war powers "include the authority to detain those captured in armed struggle," even if they are not U.S. citizens.

The trickiest case is presented by *Padilla* v. *Rumsfeld*, which involves the seizure of an American citizen in the United States (Hamdi, of course, was also American but was captured abroad). Jose Padilla was born in Brooklyn. His "career" includes time as a Chicago gang member, and a spell in Florida's jails for a "road rage" incident. In 1994, he converted to Islam; he moved to Egypt four years later, and thence to Pakistan and Afghanistan. According to captured al-Qaeda leader Abu Zubaydah, Padilla proposed to detonate a radiological or "dirty" bomb in the United States, and he was arrested at O'Hare International Airport on May 8, 2002. After initially being held on a "material witness" warrant and having had a public defender appointed for him, Padilla was re-classified as a captured enemy combatant and transferred to military custody.

Hamdi

STR/REUTERS

Padilla's lawyer has challenged this fundamental change in status out of the criminal-justice system, and sought access to him for the purpose of pursuing a writ of habeas corpus and his release. However, New York federal district judge Michael B. Mukasey ruled that the president could designate Padilla as an enemy combatant, even though he was taken captive in the United States, and that this designation was subject only to lim-



Long Live The (Florence) King in STET, Damnit!

THE COMPLETE & UNABRIDGED COLLECTION OF "THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER"

$29.95 includes shipping!

Send _____ copies of the handsome hardcover edition of Florence King's mighty and misanthropic ***"STET, Damnit!"*** (only $29.95 including shipping) to:

Name

Address

City

State ZIP

PAYMENT METHOD

☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")

Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No.

Expir. Date

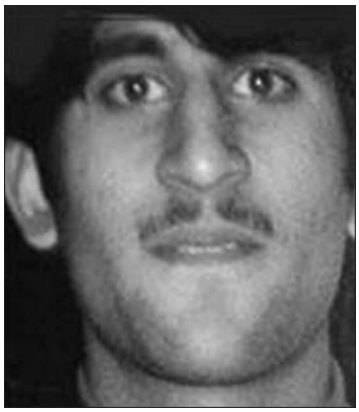
Signature

Total payment $ _____

New York State residents must include sales tax.

NATIONAL REVIEW 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Rasul

ited judicial review (similar to the one performed by the Fourth Circuit in the Hamdi case). But Mukasey also concluded that Padilla could have access to a lawyer, if only to assist the court in reviewing his habeas petition. Although his conclusion on this point was tenuous—since habeas corpus is a civil process and the Constitution does not guarantee a right to counsel in such proceedings—the judge's opinion was generally well reasoned and nuanced.

On appeal, however, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit overruled him. Two members of a three-judge appellate panel (over the strong objection of the third) rejected President Bush's authority to classify American citizens as enemy combatants at all, at least outside of an undefined "zone of combat." The majority ordered Padilla's release—or his prosecution through the criminal-justice system.

The government had relied on the Supreme Court's *Quirin* decision, but the two majority judges rejected this comparison, largely because, first, they wrongly believed *Quirin* did not apply in Padilla's case, and second, they misinterpreted a critical statute, the Non-Detention Act.

This act was passed to prevent the internment of genuine civilians (such as Japanese-Americans during World War II), and there is little evidence that it was ever meant to hinder the president's power to detain enemy combatants, including American citizens in the United States, in wartime. In any case, Congress's September 14, 2001, resolution (signed into law by the president four days later) authorizing the use of military force against al-Qaeda and its allies clearly satisfied the Non-Detention Act's requirements.

Overall, the Second Circuit's *Padilla* opinion amounts to a simple denial that the United States is at war, and also to an insistence that al-Qaeda be combated by means of the criminal-justice system. That, ultimately, will be the question for the Supreme Court. If the president and Congress properly invoked the law of war in responding to the September 11 attacks, then attacking, capturing, *and* detaining al-Qaeda operatives without trial until the conflict ends is permitted both by international law and by the Constitution of the United States. This is true regardless of whether the captives are American citizens or were taken prisoner in the United States.

AMERICA IS AT WAR

The arguments advanced by the administration's critics to prove that the U.S. is not "at war" with al-Qaeda are, in fact, inconsistent with the Supreme Court's own precedent. First, the fact that Congress has not "declared" war makes no difference whatsoever. The Constitution's ink had barely dried when the Supreme Court ruled, in two cases arising from the 1798–1801 "undeclared" naval war with France, that the laws of war applied to an armed conflict irrespective of a formal declaration.

Second, the U.S. can be "at war" with a group that is not a sovereign state. This was the Supreme Court's ruling in *Montoya* v. *United States* (1901), a case involving Indian hostilities. "We recall no instance," said a unanimous Court, "where Congress has made a formal declaration of war against an Indian nation or tribe; but the fact that Indians are engaged in acts of general hostility to settlers, especially if the Government has deemed it necessary to dispatch a military force for their subjugation, is sufficient to constitute a state of war."

Finally, assertions that the War on Terror cannot be a war because—like the "war on drugs" or the "war on crime"—it has no obvious end ignore the essentially military character of the conflict, and the September 2001 framework established by Congress, which defined the enemy as follows: "Those nations, organizations, or persons [the president] determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons." Legally speaking, then, the United States is not at war with "terror," but with the terrorists (and their allies) responsible for September 11. Padilla, Hamdi, and the Guantánamo detainees were all taken prisoner in the context of *that* conflict.

The alleged terrorists now in custody may well regret their choices. That does not, however, change the legal or moral imperatives governing their detention. Once al-Qaeda's capabilities are so degraded that it is incapable of mounting coordinated attacks against the United States and its allies, the conflict will end. At that time, the detainees must be released—or tried for war crimes and punished. In the meantime, their detention, whether in the United States or at Guantánamo Bay, is no more or less unlawful or outrageous than our detention of prisoners captured in the world wars, Korea, or Vietnam.

Detainees captured and held overseas, and who are not American citizens, are beyond federal-court jurisdiction, although they are legally entitled to be treated humanely. Alleged terrorists who are American citizens, or who are held in the United States, may seek a writ of habeas corpus in the courts, but may nevertheless be held so long as the president shows some evidence for their classification as enemy combatants. Because the detainees are not now being held as criminal defendants (although each may well have future criminal exposure), they are not entitled to criminal trials.

If the government ultimately chooses to prosecute individual detainees for violations of the laws of war, then they will be entitled to due-process rights, including the right to a presumption of innocence and the assistance of counsel. However, because they are combatants, and not civilians, they will enjoy these rights in military, rather than civilian, courts. This, at any rate, is what the Supreme Court's existing precedents clearly teach. Unless the Court chooses to overturn those precedents, Hamdi, Padilla, and their colleagues in Cuba can expect little assistance from that quarter. **NR**

EPA

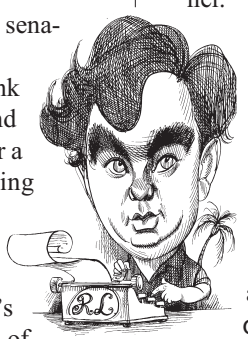
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the long view

ROB LONG

From *Larry King Live*, July 27, 2004

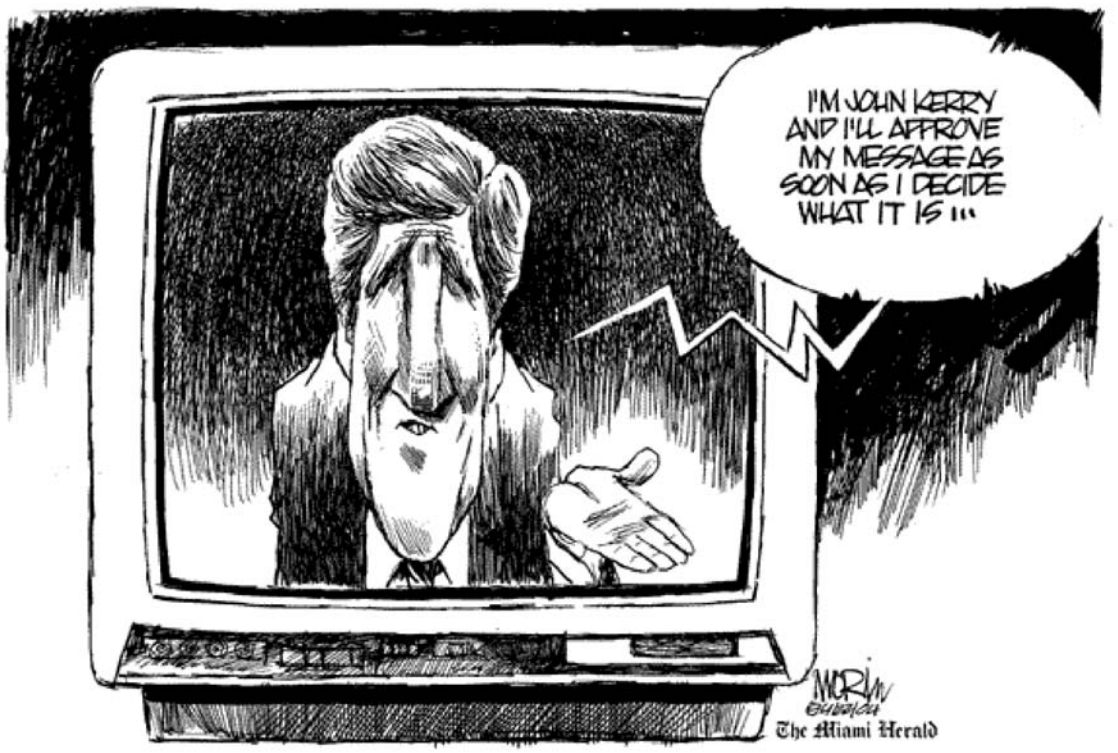
LARRY KING: "Senator, do you think the whole primary process is verklempt?"
JOHN KERRY: "Beg pardon?"
LARRY KING: "Verstonken. Broken. Not working. I thought you had a Jewish grandmother?"
JOHN KERRY: "I never said that I did. Or didn't."
LARRY KING: "But the primary process. How quickly it was all wrapped up. Do you think that might have led to the trouble the party's in right now?"
JOHN KERRY: "Larry, I think it's important to understand, right from the start, that the process of choosing a nominee is not one that I, certainly, have been involved with, and so consequently it's not one that I really . . ."
LARRY KING: "Tomorrow, the whole hour with Suzanne Pleshette and Tom Poston! Those two are incorrigible! I saw them last week at Mastro's in Beverly Hills. Laughed so hard . . ."
JOHN KERRY: "I imagine it was a fun event."
LARRY KING: "You got that right. From Cedar Rapids! You're on with Sen. John Kerry! Hello!"
CALLER: "Am I on?"
LARRY KING: "You're on, caller, what's your question?"
CALLER: "Um . . . I was wondering if Senator Kerry has made up his mind about what he's going to do next?"
LARRY KING: "Yeah. Senator, next move? Is public life out of the question for you now?"
JOHN KERRY: "Well, I don't think . . ."
LARRY KING: "It's gotta sting. Gotta kill you somewhere inside. Getting dumped at the convention."
JOHN KERRY: "Well, in the first place . . ."
LARRY KING: "Tell me how a person comes back from that."
JOHN KERRY: "If I may, Larry, I can't really agree with the premise of your question. I wasn't dumped, to use your word. In fact, if you go back through the record, you'll see that, in fact, I wasn't really running for the nomination in any official way, the way these things work, so it's really a matter of understanding that at a certain place and at a certain time it was clear to me, and I think, to be fair, it's important to understand that this was very much my decision, not to accept the nomination for a candidacy that I wasn't really campaigning for in the true sense of the . . ."
LARRY KING: "You weren't even running?"
JOHN KERRY: "Well, I don't want to give the impression that I wasn't running."
LARRY KING: "You were running, then?"
JOHN KERRY: "Larry, it's incorrect to say, as some in the Republican attack machine have said, that I was running in the first place. Look, this all goes back to George Bush and Dick Cheney and the way they chose to serve, or not, during the Vietnam War."
LARRY KING: "Destin, Florida! You're on with Sen. John Kerry!"
CALLER: "Hi, Larry. Hello, senator. I just wanted to ask the senator if he had any anger or bitterness towards the people in his party and the way they treated him?"
LARRY KING: "What about it, senator? Tough stuff."
JOHN KERRY: "Again, I think it's important to understand that it was my decision. After a long process of campaigning and . . ."
LARRY KING: "But you said you weren't campaigning."
JOHN KERRY: "Sorry, that's correct. After a long process of collecting delegates, it was just something that ultimately didn't appeal to me. Being president."
LARRY KING: "What about the plunging poll numbers?"
JOHN KERRY: "I'm not sure I would use the word 'plunging.'"
LARRY KING: "In the high teens?"
JOHN KERRY: "Our internal polling had us . . ."



LARRY KING: "It wasn't the party brass getting nervous?"
JOHN KERRY: "No, no, no, no, no."
LARRY KING: "Rumors of Terry McAuliffe knocking on your hotel-room door and leaving a flaming bag of . . ."
JOHN KERRY: "No! That never happened! I can't believe you're repeating these silly stories, Larry."
LARRY KING: "So what did it?"
JOHN KERRY: "I was standing on the balcony of my hotel room, cleaning off my shoe with a hotel ballpoint pen, and I suddenly thought, 'You know, this may not be for me.'"
LARRY KING: "The cover of *Newsweek* this week, John Kerry! And the headline: 'Buyer's Remorse'!"
JOHN KERRY: "Again, that's . . ."
LARRY KING: "Next week! Mary Tyler Moore tells us why she's suing her plastic surgeon! You're on with Sen. John Kerry! Hello!"
CALLER: "Hi there, Larry, John. I'd like to know if John feels, as I do, that the important thing here is for the Democratic party to come together and unify."
LARRY KING: "That voice sounds familiar."
CALLER: "And for the party to pick a leader with experience and enthusiasm, and a leader with a lot of support behind her."
LARRY KING: "Caller?"
CALLER: "Um . . . yeah?"
LARRY KING: "Are you Bill Clinton?"
CALLER: "No, no. I'm just a . . . just one of the regular party faithful, is all."
LARRY KING: "You sound an awful lot like . . ."
CALLER: "Just putting in my two cents, Lar. The party needs a dynamic, proven campaigner, and if anybody needs to reach her, she's at the Westin, Room 809."
LARRY KING: "Something tells me that if we call that room, Bill, you'll answer."
CALLER: "Actually, my room's on a different floor. I mean . . ."
LARRY KING: "Tomorrow! Siegfried and Roy!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP!!!!



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They're Stuck

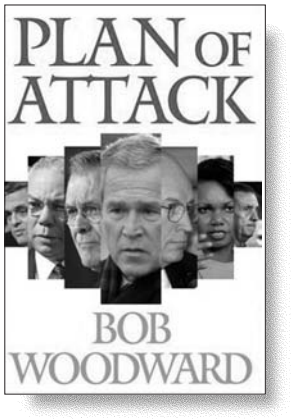
It's dawning on the Democrats
That Kerry's true persona
Resembles what Old Navy types
Referred to as a Jonah.
In Melville's day such cases were
Resolved in Jones's locker;
But dumping John—they're sensitive—
Would knock Dems off their rocker.

—W. H. von Dreele

"So what if the CIA is out to get you? It's been out to get Fidel Castro for 40 years, and he's *doing all right."*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Inside Job



Plan of Attack,
by Bob Woodward
(Simon & Schuster, 480 pp., $28)

DAVID FRUM

Bob Woodward's latest book is called *Plan of Attack*, but it might more aptly have borrowed a title from Donald Trump: *The Art of the Deal*. This book, like all of Woodward's previous books, is the product of a series of transactions with powerful people in Washington. They tell Woodward their version of events; he in turn glamorizes them and publicizes their views. So maybe the wisest way to respond to this new book is not by reading it, but by reverse-engineering it: by identifying the quid pro quos that constitute the book to see what we can learn from them.

Nobody gave Woodward more than Colin Powell, the chatty secretary of state, and his even chattier deputy, Richard Armitage. For Powell and Armitage, *Plan of Attack* was a grand opportunity to display to the world their disdain for the rest of the administration in which they serve.

Runner-up: George Tenet of the Central Intelligence Agency. Tenet gave Woodward a detailed account of the agency's triumphs in northern Iraq in the early days of the war. It's an impressive story—and also incidentally probably the most favorable publicity the CIA has received since 9/11.

Coming in third is Gen. Tommy Franks. In the eyes of many, Franks was a stodgy and unimaginative general who had to be pushed and prodded by Secretary Rumsfeld every step of the way. Here, however, he is the hero of the Iraq war. He gets to insult his bureaucratic enemies (one of them is "the f***ing stupidest guy on the face of the earth"), even as the failures of Franks's own postwar planning are quietly elided.

Each of these transactions is easy enough to understand. What's much more mysterious is the transaction at the very core of the book: the transaction between Woodward and President Bush. This supposedly secretive administration gave Woodward open access to its private counsels—more open access than probably any wartime administration has given to any journalist before. Powell would almost certainly have talked to Woodward no matter what, as he did during the Gulf War for Woodward's book on that conflict. But without an explicit presidential order, it is hugely improbable that Donald Rumsfeld, or Lewis Libby (the vice president's chief of staff), or Karl Rove, or Condoleezza Rice would have responded to his questions. But the president did order them to talk to Woodward—and so they did answer.

Because they answered, Woodward now has another bestselling book to his credit. What did the president get in return? Perhaps he expected more of the favorable coverage he received in Woodward's previous book, *Bush at War*. If so, he has been cheated.

The first publicity for *Plan of Attack* emphasized two or three mini-controversies, notably the claim that Saudi Arabia had promised to hold oil prices down to aid Bush's re-election in 2004. As far as can be ascertained from the text, this claim rests solely on the say-so of Saudi Arabia's ambassador, Prince Bandar. Woodward seems never to have questioned Bandar's motives for making such an explosive claim—or to have compared it against the reality of Saudi Arabian behavior. In fact, Saudi Arabia has over the past year worked within OPEC for higher prices.

The real damage done by the book, however, rests on stories that are even more difficult to verify. Many reviewers complain about Woodward's lack of literary gift. And it's true that his sentences are leaden, that he instinctively gravitates to the cliché, and that he cannot be bothered to reread his manuscript to check whether the quote on one page is repeated on the very next—as it often is.

But Woodward does know how to choose and use the hurtful detail; and in this book, they are lined up like riflemen against the president. So when President Bush visits Walter Reed hospital to meet wounded soldiers from the Afghan campaign, we spend the longest time with a soldier who regards the president with "grim disbelief." At a briefing by legislative aide Nick Calio, we hear that Bush is puzzled by the aide's use of the word "vitiate." We learn that the president spends his time at an important briefing eyeing the peppermints laid out before the other participants. And so on.

Woodward takes whacks at his other villains too. We are told that at one meeting Vice President Cheney fell asleep and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld kept asking the others to speak louder.

In a critique of one of Woodward's books from the 1980s, left-wing journalist Sidney Blumenthal accused him of practicing "pointillism without a point." Here, though, Woodward has a point to make. *Plan of Attack* depicts an administration badly divided against itself. Perhaps all administrations are so divided, but not usually in wartime, not in public, and not with such damaging effect on the policies the president finally chooses to adopt.

The decision to go to war is always a solemn, even a dreadful one. It is necessary and right that it be fully debated, and that the president give careful attention to

Mr. Frum, a former special assistant to President Bush, is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a contributing editor of National Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the arguments of those around him who oppose war. But those opponents have obligations too. Foremost among them is the duty to support the president's decisions loyally, once made. *Plan of Attack* documents the refusal of the State Department's high leadership to do that. "Richard Armitage [Colin Powell's closest friend and his deputy at State] was growing increasingly restive. He believed that the foreign-policy-making system that was supposed to be coordinated by Rice was essentially dysfunctional. *That dysfunction had served well as long as Powell and he could delay war.* But that effort had ultimately failed. Later in 2003, whenever there was a presidential speech or an issue with the White House, particularly on the Middle East, he would say to Powell, 'Tell those people to f*** themselves.'" (Italics added.)

Powell seldom speaks quite as bluntly as Armitage. But his scorn for his colleagues is thoroughly aired. The week before 9/11, *Time* magazine ran a cover story about Powell's loss of influence. Woodward quotes the reaction of another Powell deputy, Richard Haass, now head of the Council on Foreign Relations. "It sucks. The only thing that would have been worse would have been if it showed you were in charge. Then you would have been totally f***ed." Powell's response? An appreciative guffaw.

This backbiting exacted a very considerable cost on U.S. policy. Woodward offers an opaque and in many ways seriously misleading version of the battle over the postwar future of Iraq. While recording State Department scorn for Ahmed Chalabi—a "chucklehead" according to Armitage; the "biggest problem [the U.S.] had in Iraq" according to Powell—Woodward never bothers to inquire why Defense planners put so much stock in him.

What Defense understood was that Chalabi had formed a broadbased government-in-exile, the Iraqi National Congress. No doubt, the INC had its flaws. But in the immediate aftermath of a U.S.-led invasion, there were only two conceivable alternative governments for Iraq for the period before elections could be arranged: either an INC provisional government or a U.S. military occupation. By opposing the former so effectively, Powell and Armitage forced the Bush administration into the latter. In other words: Those in the U.S. government who most opposed going into Iraq were also those who insisted that—once in—the U.S. should rule most directly; while those who most favored the war were keenest to restore Iraqi self-rule as quickly as possible.

The key to this paradox is the government represented by the much-quoted Prince Bandar: the Saudi monarchy. Powell and Armitage and the bureaucracy they championed opposed the Iraq war because they feared the war would destabilize the Saudi monarchy. Once it became clear that war was coming, they adopted a new priority: putting in place a postwar regime that would be as acceptable as possible to the Saudi rulers—not too democratic, not too free, and, above all, one that preserved as much as possible of the old Sunni Arab hegemony over the other 80 percent of the Iraqi population.

The Defense planners recognized that State's plans would undercut the war's most important purposes: changing the old order in the Middle East. So they resisted State's ideas—leading to one of the most mysterious passages in Woodward's book. He describes the State Department's attempt to put its experts in charge of the postwar planning. These individuals were rejected by Defense. Powell intervened to force them on the Pentagon—and half-succeeded. Woodward reports that Powell dismissed Defense's objections to his people as "silliness." But Woodward offers only the most oblique explanation of Defense's reasoning.

In the end, Powell's views on postwar reconstruction essentially prevailed. The INC was locked out. Iraqis were largely excluded from the postwar governance of their country. And now—the final victory—the U.S. is reversing itself on de-Baathification and inviting the U.N. to manage the transition to Iraqi self-rule. That's the same U.N. that systematically pillaged Iraq over the past dozen years through the corrupt Oil-for-Food program. And the man the U.N. has chosen to do its work in Iraq represents the same Sunni Arab will-to-power that has so horribly disfigured Iraq's modern history: Lakhdar Brahimi, a former foreign minister of Algeria and undersecretary-general of the Arab League. Brahimi opened his first meeting with Iraq's Governing Council with ominous words: "I come not just as a U.N. official, but as a brother Arab." Not exactly cheering words for Iraq's tyrannized and massacred non-Arab minorities: Kurds, Turkomens, and Assyrian Christians.

Woodward takes us into this byplay without giving any indication that he understands what it means for Iraqis or Americans. What he offers instead is an inside view of one of the most important foreign-policy debates of the past three decades almost entirely from the point of view of the insider who most bitterly rejected his president's agenda—and worked most assiduously to defeat it.

The overwhelming impression left by this book is that Iraq was a mess from which only Colin Powell endeavored to save us. Though Powell at the end graciously allows that the decision "was not 100 percent wrong"—and though Woodward does note that for all Powell's scheming against the war he never quite got around to advising the president against it—there is more than enough in this book to justify Oscar Wilde's witticism, "Every great man has his disciples—and it is always

LEGACY

WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations. As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
National Review, Legacy
Attn.: James Kilbridge
215 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10016
212-679-7330

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2004 Caribbean Post-Election Cruise

Sailing November 13–20 on

A LUXURY VOYAGE FEATURING ALL-STAR SPEAKERS INCLUDING
Renowned author VICTOR DAVIS HANSON, Islam expert BERNARD LEWIS,
Republican party chairman ED GILLESPIE, acclaimed author DINESH D'SOUZA,
Club for Growth boss STEPHEN MOORE, columnist MICHELLE MALKIN, and *NR* Editors
RICH LOWRY, JAY NORDLINGER, RAMESH PONNURU, JOHN O'SULLIVAN, and JOHN DERBYSHIRE

We are pleased to announce our next exciting seafaring adventure: the ***National Review* 2004 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise**. Featuring an incredible cast of celebrity speakers—and remarkably affordable accommodations (prices start at just $1,549 per person, and "singles" can get a luxurious room for only $1,899!)—this special trip will take place November 13-20, 2004, aboard Holland America Line's new MS *Zuiderdam*.

This wonderful journey will afford you the unique opportunity to meet some of America's most preeminent conservative celebrities: "definites" for this special voyage are the esteemed author **Victor Davis Hanson** (the renowned academic has become one of the most influential writers on America and terrorism—and with his new book, *Mexifornia*, also on immigration—since September 11), **Bernard Lewis** (the eminent Princeton professor is the world expert on Islam's bloody history with the West—his *What Went Wrong?* and *The Crisis of Islam* are *must*-reads), Republican National Committee chairman **Ed Gillespie**, economist and Club for Growth president **Stephen Moore**, acclaimed author **Dinesh D'Souza**, syndicated columnist **Michelle Malkin** (her 2003 immigration book, *Invasion*, caused a sensation!), National Review Online favorite **John Derbyshire**, *NR* Editor **Rich Lowry**, Senior Editor **Ramesh Ponnuru**, Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger**, and Editor-at-Large (*and* editor of *The National Interest*) **John O'Sullivan** (we're awaiting RSVPs from other conservatives we've invited to participate in this special week of "topics and tropics").

Join them for seven relaxing days and nights of politics and policy, conservative revelry, and world-class luxury cruising.

As *NR* cruise alumni (there are thousands, the "typical" one has gone on three or four of our very *bon* voyages!) know, our trips are remarkable events, marked by scintillating political shoptalk, wonderful socializing, intimate dining with our editors and speakers, making new friends, the rekindling of old friendships—and, of course, grand cruising. That's what's in store for you on the ***National Review* 2004 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise**.

There are countless reasons for you to come, but none bigger than the luminaries who will be joining us for this luxury trip—what a truly extraordinary gathering! It's one of the best ensembles we've ever had on an *NR* cruise, which guarantees that our seminar sessions—featuring ample audience "Q & A"—will be fascinating.

- Where does one *begin* to question **Bernard Lewis** about the brutal revival of the millenium-old struggle between Islam and the West?!
- Ditto for **Victor David Hanson**, who will share his expertise on the moral struggle required for America and democratic nations to battle terrorism and defend freedom.
- Who is *better* positioned to discuss the state and fate of the Republican Party than chairman **Ed Gillespie** (who wrote great pieces for *NR* once upon a time before he took over the GOP)?!
- Who can give keener insight on the war between conservatives and RINOs (Republicans In Name Only) than Club for Growth boss **Stephen Moore**? Or a sounder assessment of red-hot cultural issues (like campus "diversity" and immigration) than the brilliant **Michelle Malkin** and **Dinesh D'Souza**?!
- And they'll be joined in all the ruminating, elucidating, and analyzing of the 2004 elections and their aftermath (President Kerry?!) by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights, led by **Rich Lowry**, who will be ably assisted by **John O'Sullivan**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, **Jay Nordlinger**, and NRO headliner **John Derbyshire**.

ENJOY SEVEN BALMY DAYS AND COOL CONSERVATIVE NIGHTS!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
SAT/Nov. 13	Ft. Lauderdale		5:00 PM	
SUN/Nov. 14	Half Moon Cay	8:00 AM	4:00 PM	morning Catholic Mass evening cocktail reception
MON/Nov. 15	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
TUES/Nov. 16	St. Thomas, USVI	8:00 AM	12 Midnight	
WED/Nov. 17	Tortola, BVI	7:00 AM	6:00 PM	evening cocktail reception
THURS/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
FRI/Nov. 19	Nassau, Bahamas	12 Noon	7:00PM	morning seminar evening cocktail reception
SAT/Nov. 20	Ft. Lauderdale	8:00AM		

We so want you to "experience" these conservative luminaries that we've engineered remarkably affordable prices, starting as low (indeed, our *lowest* prices *ever!*) as $1,549 (p/p). And singles can get their own cabin for just $1,899! That *includes* all

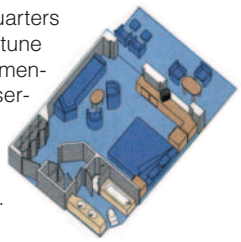
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Holland America Line's MS *Zuiderdam*

STUNNING, SPACIOUS, LUXURY CABINS START AT JUST $1,549 PER PERSON!

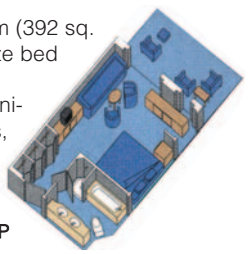
Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Zuiderdam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through Holland America), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin:

Age	Categories S, SS & A	Category D	Category K
19+	$1092	$991	$889
2-18	$842	$741	$639



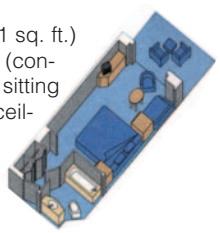
DELUXE SUITE Magnificent luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) feature use of exclusive Neptune Lounge and Personal Concierge, complimentary laundry, pressing and dry cleaning service. Large private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, and refrigerator.

Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,999



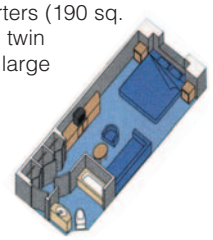
SUPERIOR SUITES Grand stateroom (392 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, and much more.

Category SS
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,799 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599



DELUXE OUTSIDE Spacious cabin (241 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bath with shower, sitting area, mini-bar, tv, refrigerator, and floor-to-ceiling windows.

Category A
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,399 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,199



LARGE OCEAN VIEW Comfortable quarters (190 sq. ft.) feature queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv, large ocean-view windows.

Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,899 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,399

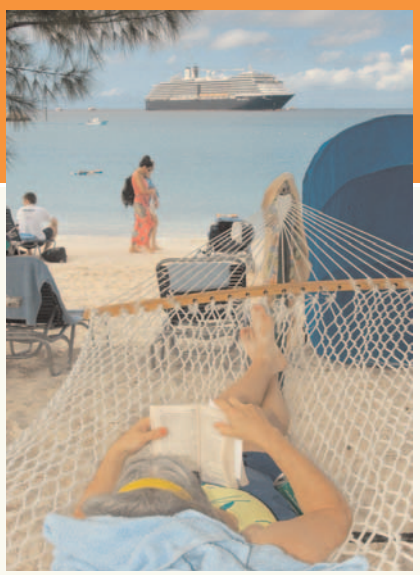
LARGE INSIDE Cozy but ample cabin quarters (185 sq. ft.) feature queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), bathtub with shower, sitting area, tv, large ocean-view windows.

Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,549 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,899

SUPER-AFFORDABLE! BRING YOUR FAMILY AND FRIENDS!

LOWEST PRICES EVER!

CALL 1-800-707-1634



those "extras" like port fees, taxes, and gratuities! Just look at the chart on the left and check out our phenomenal rates.

We've made it so affordable that you simply *can't* miss this trip.

Of course, the special "extras" that *NR* brings—the seminars, receptions, and intimate dining with speakers—come on top of the great cruise, which takes place on the beautiful MS *Zuiderdam*. Still gleaming from her recent inaugural, she's Holland America's classiest vessel. You'll find the accommodations to be truly luxurious, matched only by the indulgent, courteous staff, superior cuisine, and top-notch entertainment and excursions.

The ***National Review* 2004 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise** features a sunny itinerary—our voyage will visit Half Moon Cay (Holland America's glorious private island), the Virgin Island ports of St. Thomas and Tortola, and Nassau in the Bahamas. Tours, watersports, napping on a hammock on a pristine beach, quaffing a cool libation under a palm tree—get ready for a week of fun and R&R.

Of course, you can experience that on many a cruise. But what you can experience *only* on an *NR* cruise are those exclusive extras that make up our extensive program. Over the course of the week we will be holding (and we hope *you* will be enjoying!) at least five seminars (each brimming with two-plus hours of bite and wit as our panels of experts make sense out of current events and the recent elections, and divine what's ahead in Washington and elsewhere for 2005 and beyond), three cocktail parties (hot hors d'ouevres, cool drinks, and warm friendships), two late-night poolside smokers—featuring **H. Upmann**'s wonderful cigars and complimentary cognac. And on top of all that comes dining with our guests: On at least two nights you'll enjoy intimate dinners with of our speakers and *NR* editors.

Don't delay: Reserve your luxury stateroom *immediately* (and securely) at our special website—**www.nationalreviewcruise-carib.com**. Or you can call The Cruise Authority at 1-800-707-1634—the professionals there will ably assist you in selecting your cabin.

Take the trip of a lifetime with some of America's most preeminent intellectuals, policy analysts, and political experts—**Victor Davis Hanson**, **Bernard Lewis**, **Ed Gillespie**, **Dinesh D'Souza**, **Michelle Malkin**, **Stephen Moore**, and *NR* editors **Rich Lowry**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, **Jay Nordlinger**, **John O'Sullivan**, and **John Derbyshire**—on the ***National Review* 2004 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise**.

BOOK YOUR LUXURY CABIN NOW—CALL THE CRUISE AUTHORITY AT 1-800-707-1634 OR VISIT US AT WWW.NATIONALREVIEWCRUISE-CARIB.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

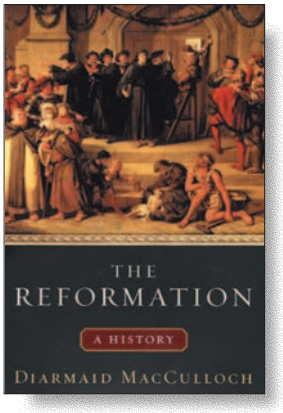
Judas who writes the biography."

Will this book damage Bush politically? In direct terms, probably not much. In most polls, the president's approval rating has been holding steady at slightly over 50 percent since early February, despite a whole string of attack books. Compared to either the grim news from Iraq or the increasingly bullish news on the economy, no book is going to make much of an impression. If Richard Clarke's acidic memoir did not budge the polls, and it didn't, then Woodward's much more diluted story certainly will not do so. And the White House's cunning tactic of insisting that the book is essentially flattering to the president may well succeed in cushioning the book's effects.

Indirectly, however, the effects of the Woodward book could be very damaging indeed. *Plan of Attack* exists because the Bush administration made a bold decision to open itself up to outside scrutiny. This is an approach the administration has rarely been willing to risk in the past—and, one suspects, will not soon risk again. That is a shame and a loss. Administrations benefit from explaining themselves. If they do not, their opponents will explain their decisions for them. As candidate Bush used to say during the 2000 campaign, "You either define yourself or you get defined." In office, though, the Bush administration has not always done a good job of defining itself. It communicates either in formal presidential addresses or in terse television talking points. Both are essential—but so too is the kind of informal briefing and self-defense that the Bush foreign-policy-makers other than Powell tend to eschew.

After *Plan of Attack* such informal explanations by senior Bush figures are likely to become rarer than ever; disgust at the "media game" will intensify; and an administration already inclined to feel embattled and look inward will be tempted to an even greater sense of embattlement, an even tighter inwardness. The cost of succumbing to such a temptation will be paid in forfeited opportunities to reach out, change minds, and win friends. It will not be a cost that will be easy to measure. But it will be real and heavy—not only for the administration, but for the country this administration has led so well through such dangerous times. **NR**

Crucible of Freedom



The Reformation: A History, by Diarmaid MacCulloch (Viking, 792 pp., $34.95)

MICHAEL POTEMRA

God writes straight with crooked lines: Never was that proverb more conspicuously true than in the period known as the Reformation, and in its consequences. The revitalization of certain religious truths, in the thought and activity of Martin Luther and his successors, was met with repression by religious authorities. The repressed reformers, in turn, spilled the blood of their own opponents, and even tried to establish some of their own semi-theocracies. The long-term result of this vicious circle of repressive absolutism? The most flourishing system of religious tolerance that mankind has ever known.

To study the Reformation, then, is to become a connoisseur of historical ironies and unintended consequences; and Oxford historian Diarmaid MacCulloch's magnificent new book is replete with them. In the 1520s, for example, conservative Catholic theologians in France were alarmed at the use that might be made of vernacular Bibles, so they convinced authorities to ban them outright; as a result, the only Frenchmen who printed vernacular Bibles did so in secret, and in support of the Protestant cause. (The moral is, if you outlaw Bibles, only outlaws will have Bibles.) In the 1550s, England's Queen Mary tried valiantly to restore the Catholicism that her father, Henry VIII, had replaced with his new state church—only to find, writes MacCulloch, that one of her "chief enemies" was the Pope himself: "Not only did [Pope Paul IV] declare war on her husband King Philip, but he also pursued his old vendetta with Cardinal Pole," the religious leader of English Catholics. Mary's reign would be brief, and her window of opportunity for re-Catholicizing England equally so; she could ill afford such lack of support from her most obvious ally. Similarly, in 1566, the Council of Trent published a Catholic Catechism that would become renowned for its rigorous orthodoxy; but because it was based on the work of a Spanish Dominican who was suspected of heresy back home, "the Spanish Inquisition persistently refused to allow [the new Roman Catechism] to be used in Spain" itself.

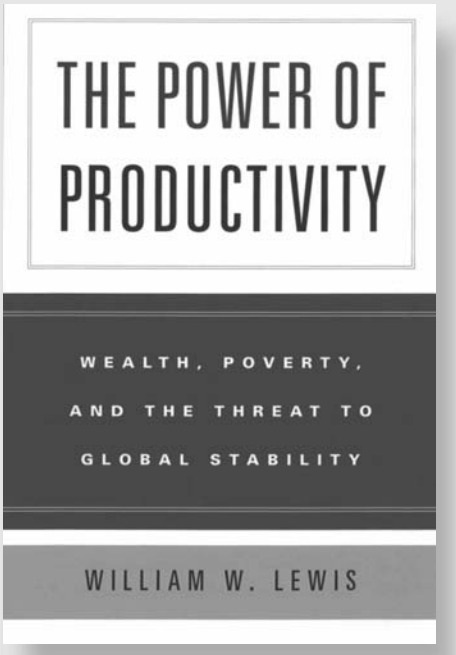
The most unfortunate irony, of course, is that in the interest of refining the public's understanding of Christian doctrine, countless gallons of blood were spilled. The Thirty Years' War of 1618–48 was just the longest and bloodiest of the confrontations involving adherents of the Gospel. "Opinions vary," writes MacCulloch, "but within the German lands one modern estimate is that 40 percent of the population met an early death through the fighting or the accompanying famine and disease, and even the most cautious reassessment of the evidence comes up with a figure of 15-20 percent."

Out of this slaughterhouse, though, something of inestimable value was born: toleration as we know it today. MacCulloch writes that this is perhaps "the most significant contribution of the two Reformation centuries to Christianity," though he concedes that the contribution might have been both "inadvertent and reluctant": "The first implementations of toleration in western Europe were mostly concessions by the powerful whose

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Making Economies Work

New books from Chicago



The Power of Productivity

Wealth, Poverty, and the Threat to Global Stability

William W. Lewis

"Lewis, founding director of the McKinsey Global Institute and former partner at McKinsey & Company, offers a detailed look at the local economies in several parts of the world including the U.S., Japan, India and Brazil. Based on the Institute's 12-year survey and analysis, Lewis concludes that the great economic disparity between rich and poor countries will ultimately have a negative impact on all nations. Lewis concludes by explaining how various factors, including education, government controls and cooperation among countries, will play a part in future international economic stability. This is an insightful treatment of a complex issue that deserves a wide readership."—*Publishers Weekly*

"Despite its upbeat title, *The Power of Productivity* is a cautionary tale, a how-not-to thoughtfully assembled by an astute observer of business. As such, it's bound to be more useful—for policymakers especially—than any number of success stories."—Sylvia Nasar, author of *A Beautiful Mind*

Cloth $28.00

Now in paper

A History of the Federal Reserve

Volume 1: 1913–1951

Allan H. Meltzer

With a Foreword by Alan Greenspan

"Allan H. Meltzer's *A History of the Federal Reserve, 1913–1951* is a seminal work that anyone interested in the inner workings of the U.S. central bank should read. The careful tracing of the Fed's tumultuous early years, its policy struggles, its successes and its spectacular failures . . . explains many of its peculiar operating and policymaking procedures. . . . A work that scholars will mine for years to come." —John Berry, *Washington Post*

Paper $25.00

The Rules of the Global Game

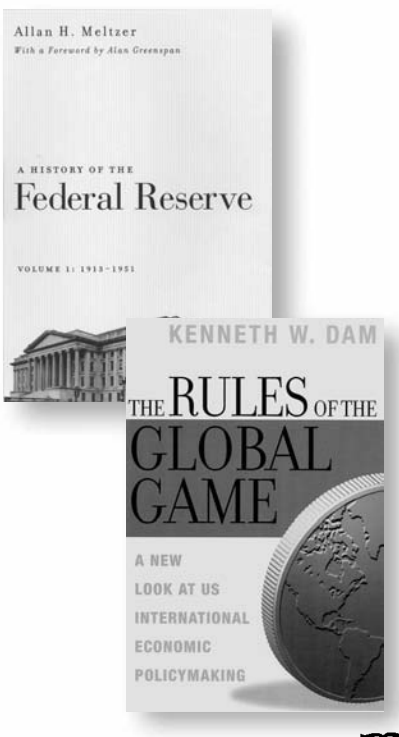
A New Look at US International Economic Policymaking

Kenneth W. Dam

"This readable tome . . . is destined to become the non-economist's economics lesson of choice."—Elizabeth Lenhard, *Chicago* magazine

"Kenneth Dam's sweep of experience on issues of international economic policy is on candid, comprehensive display in this masterful treatment of the subject. Anyone aspiring to understand the complexities, the contradictions, and the underlying simplicities of international economics will be enriched by reading this well-organized and well-written book."—George P. Shultz

Paper $19.00


Allan H. Meltzer
With a Foreword by Alan Greenspan
A HISTORY OF THE
Federal Reserve
VOLUME 1: 1913–1951
KENNETH W. DAM
THE RULES OF THE GLOBAL GAME
A NEW LOOK AT US INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICYMAKING

Available in bookstores. The University of Chicago Press • www.press.uchicago.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power was not complete: a grudging recognition of something that ideally would have remained forbidden." In short, European man needed to have his nose rubbed in the consequences of religious murder on a massive scale before beginning to concede that perhaps this was not God's intention after all.

"Experience is a dear teacher," Benjamin Franklin said, "but fools will learn at no other"; the West today has the challenge of teaching this particular lesson to yet another group of fanatics, in the hope that the Islamists will come to their own grudging acceptance of the fact that religion must not be imposed by force. This principle is in fact present in the Koran itself: "Let there be no compulsion in religion," says Sura 2. But can the behavior of religious believers be brought into line with the nobler passages in their own sacred texts? On this question, there have always been skeptics. MacCulloch recounts that in 1606, an enraged Pope Paul V "confronted the Venetian ambassador with the rhetorical question, 'Do you not know that so much reading of Scripture ruins the Catholic religion?'" History has provided a heartening answer to Paul V: The turn to Scripture in the 20th century has been a major force in the strengthening of the Catholic faith. Even as fissiparous tendencies threaten Catholicism in a number of areas, a greater familiarity of the Catholic faithful with the sacred text has put an end to the stereotyped notion that the Bible is the exclusive preserve of Protestants.

MacCulloch takes pains to point out that not the least of the beneficiaries of the Reformation was, paradoxically, Catholicism itself—not chiefly because of the centralizing tendencies of the Tridentine Counter-Reformation, but because of the broader efforts of such figures as Sts. Ignatius of Loyola, Francis de Sales, and Charles Borromeo to reinvigorate the faith at the local level. Vatican II, like the renewed attention to the Bible among Catholics, is an outgrowth of the renewal movement begun in the 16th century.

This book is long, and full of detailed discussion of political maneuverings and theological debates. MacCulloch apologizes occasionally for the technical nature of the religious disputes, but he needn't; his accounts of them are lucid, and will not be boring to anyone with the least interest in the subject. He is, in general, an engaging and serious writer who avoids the projection of current political controversies into the period he is studying, with one exception: his 58-page excursus on marriage and the family, which, while rich in colorful detail on the sexuality of the time, speaks the language of today's preoccupation with sex as the central issue of religion. These chapters can be safely skipped by those whose chief interest is the Reformation itself.

Overall, this is a comprehensive and readable account of a world dramatically different from our own, that was destined nonetheless to bring ours to birth. Like the human story itself, it is a sad chronicle of barbarous tortures and atrocities, but points beyond itself to a happier outcome. NR

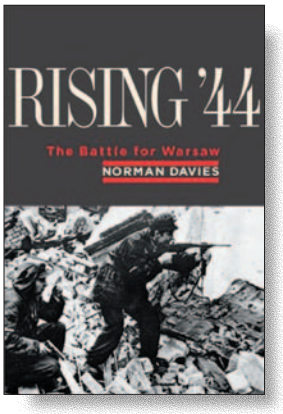
JACARANDAS

The jacarandas are in bloom again
and lavender blossoms are falling everywhere,
announcing the beginning of summer here,
in Claremont, California, this small town
of old houses, colleges and trees,
where I have lived for over thirty years.
In early June, the blossoms bloom and fall,
each lavender blossom like a little bell,
and their summer anniversary makes me smile.
Some hidden rhythm at the heart of things
summons them here each year to light and glory,
but the flowers bloom for only a little while,
and I am also in this rhythm's thrall,
and know, one summer, when the flowers come,
no one will find me here at this address.
A fading memory then, my name and face.

Some hidden rhythm at the heart of things
brings lavender blossoms snowing everywhere.
Days are passing, brief and beautiful.
The jacarandas are in bloom again.

—MICHAEL CREAGAN

Remember Them



Rising '44: The Battle for Warsaw, by Norman Davies (Viking, 784 pp., $32.95)

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

THE Warsaw uprising lasted for over 60 days, from August 1 to early October 1944. In one of the most heroic episodes of World War II, the Polish underground army, known as the AK, took on numerically superior and better-armed Wehrmacht and SS units. The outcome was catastrophic. When the AK finally surrendered to brute force, the Germans evacuated all the inhabitants of Warsaw amid scenes of random murder. In the course of the whole ordeal at least 160,000 Poles, and perhaps many more, were killed. With flamethrowers and dynamite, the Germans then destroyed the deserted city with all its historic landmarks, its cathedral and palaces. The street layout became unrecognizable. Hitler was gratified: This was the fate he had always anticipated for the Poles.

From the outset of the German occupation in 1939, many Poles had been preparing a secret army of resistance. They intended to free themselves but could do so only once the Germans were retreating. Timing was crucial. There was an ominous precedent: In April 1943, Jews crammed into the Warsaw ghetto had chosen to fight rather than be deported to their death. The Germans

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duly killed at least 20,000 of them, deported as many, and razed the entire ghetto.

In exile in London, the legal Polish government had final responsibility for policy decisions. Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk and his experienced military staff well understood that a Warsaw uprising was certain to provoke German reprisal, but as patriots they also held that the honor of the nation was at stake. Polish contingents had already fought on a number of fronts, from the Battle of Britain to Italy and the Normandy invasion. With the exception of a few farsighted skeptics among them, these leaders expected that the Allies, in return, would surely do everything to help. In the summer of 1944, a Soviet army under Marshal Rokossovsky—himself of Polish origins—broke through to the Vistula, the river dividing Warsaw. The Polish government in London concurred when the AK commander in the field, General Bor-Komorowski, gave the order to launch the uprising.

Against all expectation, Rokossovsky's army then remained inactive, apart from a brief and abortive incursion in September. Churchill quickly grasped that, for political reasons, Stalin was consigning the Poles to their fate. Stalin had just set up the so-called Lublin Committee, a puppet government of Polish Communists. The re-absorption of eastern Poland and colonization of the rest of the country had priority over the immediate war with Nazi Germany. Churchill appealed more and more urgently to Stalin to relieve Warsaw, and tried without success to pressure an indifferent Roosevelt. Mikolajczyk twice flew to Moscow to plead in vain. Stalin denied that there was any uprising. Worse, he accused the AK of being criminals in league with the Nazis. Here was the beginning of the end of the anti-Hitler coalition, and an omen of the Cold War to come.

In three long and thorough opening chapters, Norman Davies uses British, Soviet, and Polish archives to examine the political context in which the Poles had to operate. The issue of Polish freedom had after all started the World War, and Davies uses the term First Ally as a synonym for Poland. He is a historian who sees no wrong in anything Polish; if there is any wrong, then it tends to be the fault of Polish Jews, not of ethnic Poles. In this case, the wrong essentially lay with Poland's allies: The British had stood by while the Germans overran the country. Thanks to his pact with Hitler, Stalin had swallowed Polish territory, and then ordered the mass murder of the Polish elite at Katyn and elsewhere. Mistrust of anything Soviet was only natural. Mikolajczyk represented those who had a naïve confidence that Churchill would somehow save them from Stalin. Churchill had the will, but not the power.

Davies covers the uprising itself in close and enthralling detail. At barricades, in office blocks, down the sewers, men and women, old and young, fought an unequal battle without a second thought. In extended footnotes, Davies quotes from diaries, letters, poems, and memoirs, mostly Polish but some German, to personalize this epic of courage, folly, and cruelty. Vitold Piletski, a company commander in the uprising, had previously got himself arrested in order to spy out Auschwitz, and then escaped from the camp to report on it. A Polish priest was tied as a hostage to a German tank—an irony, as the priest was a known anti-Semite. Such dramas are unforgettable. This is history at its best, spoiled only by a strange, degrading gimmick: Davies invariably anglicizes Polish names: Mikolajczyk becomes Mick, and Bor-Komorowski Boor. There is a key at the back of the book, but it is so confusing that the reader has to waste time searching for identities. These are men and women who deserve to be remembered by their real names.

At barricades, in office blocks, down the sewers, men and women, old and young, fought an unequal battle without a second thought.

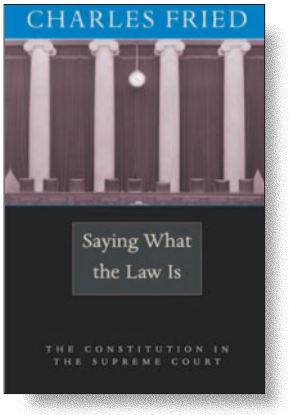
British and American aircraft dropped supplies to Warsaw without much success, and at a high cost to themselves. For a while, they were denied landing rights behind Soviet lines; sometimes Soviet anti-aircraft guns fired on them. The governments and the military in the West shrugged off what they felt unable to alter. Davies reproduces a September 1944 article by George Orwell, protesting against allowing the Soviets to treat the Poles as they liked. Orwell was exceptional.

Stalin left no record to explain why he allowed the Germans to devastate Warsaw so utterly. Perhaps this was the fate he too had anticipated for the Poles; perhaps he was just a cunning opportunist. In authoritative final chapters, Davies argues that the Western Allies had not thought through their policy toward Poland. The country was far away, and its condition confusing. Some in decision-making circles were ignorant of Soviet reality, and many more were outright apologists for Communism. No British or American military missions were sent to Poland. By chance, a British prisoner of war named John Ward had escaped into Warsaw, where he was the only informant available to London: a good man, but without influence. Allied conferences leading to Yalta gave Stalin every reason to believe that he could get away with whatever he pleased. Roosevelt's inaction, Davies sums up with a snap, was different from Stalin's but "every bit as detrimental."

Surviving German captivity, Bor-Komorowski and others eventually made their lives in the West. The Lublin Committee turned into the government of the Polish Communist satellite, and, with the Soviets, persecuted and executed any independent Poles. Emil Fieldorf, for example, had been in charge of operations harassing the Germans; the Soviets sent him to Gulag without knowing who he was. Released and then betrayed, he was tried in camera as a collaborator with the Germans and hanged. These travesties of justice alienated Poles, and exposed the mendacity of Communism. Krzysztof Baczynski was a young poet killed in the uprising. Davies quotes a striking image of his about being caught between the Scarlet Plague of the Communists and the Black Death of the Nazis. Millions of Poles were in that position for many years, and this book is a heartfelt tribute to them. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Doctrine



Saying What the Law Is: The Constitution in the Supreme Court, by Charles Fried (Harvard, 319 pp., $29.95)

MATTHEW J. FRANCK

The publisher's blurb tells us that Charles Fried's new book "fills the need for an account" of constitutional law that is "free from legal jargon and clear enough to inform the educated layperson, yet which does not condescend or slight critical nuance, so that its judgments and analyses will engage students, practitioners, judges, and scholars." The author himself tells us that "commercial speech only attains constitutional protection if it is true." Well. I wouldn't ask my parents—educated laypersons if I know any at all—to read this book if I wanted any future invitations to visit the old homestead. Nor would I assign it to my (undergraduate) students in constitutional law. At the beginning of the term, they would find it simply bewildering; and by the end, the better among them surpass Fried in their ability to think about the Constitution. Can I sue Harvard University Press?

Fried, a longtime Harvard law professor who served as President Reagan's solicitor general and later spent four years as a justice on the Massachusetts supreme court, is much taken with the notion of "doctrine" in the work of the U.S. Supreme Court. He starts by setting before the reader the question "whether the Court is in fact constrained by doctrine or whether it is just fooling around," and in the book's conclusion—after meandering through dense minefields of "doctrine" about federalism, separation of powers, speech, religion, liberty and property, and equality—he thumpingly announces that the first and not the second is true. But of course it is possible that both are true. Yes, "doctrine" as it develops over time seems to constrain the justices to strive for consistency with past patterns of decision (or the appearance of it), with only occasional overrulings of precedent as their "doctrinal" underpinnings erode. Gradualism in constitutional law is a much-observed phenomenon. Yet a detached observer might easily conclude that this means only that the Court slides into insanity slowly.

For the most part, *Saying What the Law Is* reads as though it were a treatise on constitutional logic, not constitutional law. Fried is intensely interested in questions of the consistency of case B with case A that came before, or with whether the implications in A are worked out in an intellectually satisfactory fashion in B. But as logicians remind us, any statement that "A entails B" or "B is inconsistent with A" is an expression of a logical relation, and nothing more. But "A proves B is correct" is something else again; it both expresses a logical relation between A and B and makes a claim about B that is only as sound as the truthfulness of A. And here is just where Fried fails to deliver: His book is almost devoid of any A's that will persuade the unpersuaded. In the things that matter most—groundings of "doctrine" in the text, structure, and history of the Constitution—he has given us all B's, and no A's at all that do not themselves derive from "doctrine."

Let's look at a few examples. On the basis of the remarkable principle that the free-speech clause of the First Amendment protects an absolute "freedom of the mind"—derived from John Stuart Mill, not the American framers—Fried concludes that both flag burning and pornography are protected forms of "expression." He adds that a government such as ours has no proper claim to "care what kind of person you are," which will be news to the nation's schoolteachers.

After reviewing the history of the oxymoronic notion of "substantive due process" from its bastard origins in the *Dred Scott* case, through the development of the Court's abortion jurisprudence, down to last year's *Lawrence* ruling on Texas sodomy laws, Fried tells us that "so far the Court has not gone too far in its protection of liberty under the Due Process Clause. Perhaps it has not gone far enough." So how much judicial legislation is enough?

Fried strains as well to find a principle at work in the unprincipled *Brown* opinion on school desegregation, finally yoking it to Justice Harlan's "color-blind" dissent in the *Plessy* case to discern "a principle not just of equal but of single citizenship." On this basis he praises the badly confused opinion of Justice Powell in the *Bakke* ruling as "deep and magisterial." And as for last year's Michigan cases on affirmative action, he announces after much chin-pulling that the Court nearly got it right, and that "the way to honor this ultimate goal" of single citizenship is for the Court to order that we "stop using race—not today or tomorrow but with all deliberate speed, in, say, five or seven years." Readers who wonder how the Constitution can forbid five years hence what it does not forbid today will be forgiven their doubts.

Fried concludes that both flag burning and pornography are protected forms of 'expression.'

On the amazing bramble bush the Court has made of the religion clauses in the First Amendment, Fried offers little hope of extricating ourselves from the thorns. He'd like to split an unsplittable difference between opposing views on the free-exercise clause—between permitting general laws to prohibit some religiously motivated

Mr. Franck is chairman of the political science department at Radford University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

behavior and making exceptions for such behavior—and evidently for no other reason than to smooth out a muddled "doctrine." And for the even worse mess that has been made of the establishment clause by the Court's variations on strict church-state separation, he offers no real hope at all, after proclaiming that "recourse to the text or the original meaning of the clause is wholly unavailing here. It is doctrine or nothing."

The lines just quoted could serve as a summary of Fried's effort. The book is littered with statements like "it has long been accepted that" or "the canonical statement is." Such pronouncements may be enough for the practicing advocate arguing cases, as Fried has been—he tells us at the close that "almost the whole work of the advocate is to take doctrine seriously"—but they just won't do for a scholar interested in knowing whether the Court has made sense in its effort to "say what the law is." And the interested citizen has far more in common with the scholar than with the advocate. Both of them yearn to begin at the beginning of things. How did the Court come to exercise such huge power in our society, from such a minimal textual basis and such modest historical beginnings? How does it presume to take words and phrases like "speech" and "due process," and concepts like "federalism" and "separation of powers," and make them mean such new and strange things? Why do we sit and take it when such things happen? And what, if anything, can be done about it?

Concerning these and equally consequential aspects of constitutional law, Charles Fried evinces no discernible curiosity. Complacently warming himself before the embers of judicial supremacy, he wishes only to poke at the coals every so often in hopes of maintaining a steady temperature. But the fire becomes colder and paler with every moment, and he hasn't even noticed. **NR**

A Core, A Gap, A Map

The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century, by Thomas P. M. Barnett (Putnam, 320 pp., $26.95)

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS

SINCE the end of the Cold War, policymakers have struggled to describe the new security environment. By far the most optimistic alternative was that of Francis Fukuyama, who suggested that liberalism had become the world's dominant force. He was answered almost immedi-

Mr. Owens is a professor at the Naval War College.

"A great narrative"★

★. . . of democratic survival and democratic victory."
—*Washington Times*

"Eloquent . . . immensely readable . . . the saga of the victory of capitalism over the brutal and irrational fraud that was state socialism."
—*Baltimore Sun*

"A small masterpiece of the narrative tradition . . . *The Fall of the Berlin Wall* embraces all the virtues that keep readers turning the page."
—*National Review*

"As stories go, few can match the intrigue and tragedy of the Berlin Wall. . . . Poignant narrative."
—*The Wall Street Journal*

WILEY
Now you know.
wiley.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ately by Samuel Huntington, who argued that ideological war had been replaced by a "clash of civilizations." Thereafter, advocates of "globalization" contended that interdependence and cooperation had replaced competition in international affairs and that the result would be more or less spontaneous peace and prosperity.

It is an understatement to observe that 9/11 called into question the assumption that globalization was an unambiguously beneficial phenomenon. Some commentators viewed bin Ladenism as the "dark underbelly" of globalization. But while a number of analysts tried to shoehorn 9/11 into earlier paradigms, Thomas Barnett, a senior military analyst and my colleague at the Naval War College, offered an innovative explanation of the link between globalization and terrorism in a controversial *Esquire* article titled "The Pentagon's New Map." According to Barnett, 9/11 revealed that the world's most important geopolitical fault line was not between rich and poor, but between those who accept modernity and those who reject it. He calls these two, respectively, the "Functioning Core" and the "Non-Integrating Gap."

The Core, where "globalization is thick with network connectivity, financial transactions, [and] liberal media flows," is characterized by "stable governments [and] rising standards of living." The Gap, where "globalization is thinning or just plain absent," is "plagued by politically repressive regimes, widespread poverty and disease, routine mass murder, and—most important—the chronic conflicts that incubate the next generation of global terrorists."

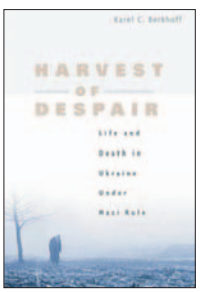
Barnett has now expanded his article into a book that is, in many respects, brilliant and innovative. It offers a persuasive analysis of the post-9/11 world as well as policy prescriptions flowing from that analysis. It contends that security is the necessary (but not sufficient) cause of prosperity: The expansion of a liberal world order (globalization) is not automatic, but must be underwritten by powers willing to provide the public good of security. Barnett outlines a geopolitical rationale for a grand strategy to fight terrorism.

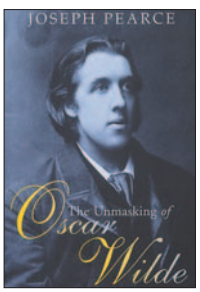
But the book is also disappointing. To begin with, Barnett devotes entirely too much space to his own experiences in the defense bureaucracy and elsewhere. While he is an entertaining writer and offers many insights, he does not really flesh out his concepts. For instance, he does not explain what makes the Gap the Gap (in my view, a combination of geography and culture) except to observe, tautologically, that it is where globalization doesn't work.

Barnett, like others before him, points out that globalization is not a completely new phenomenon. Globalization I, he contends, took off in the 1870s and ended in 1914; Globalization II, based on the Bretton Woods arrangement, lasted from 1945 to 1989; today's Globalization III is the post-USSR expansion of Globalization II. Barnett's

■ SHELF LIFE ■

It's often by looking at a microcosm that we can best take the measure of a historical period. The ugly brutality of the 20th century is crystallized in miniature in the sober and definitive *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine Under Nazi Rule* (Harvard, 463 pp., $29.95) by Karel C. Berkhoff. When Kiev fell to the Nazis in September 1941, some in the population were sullen and watchful, but others were "upbeat." One observer who had been victimized by the Soviet regime was relieved: "The devil's regime was gone and I had become a human being. I thought to myself, what a fatal tragedy for a citizen to wish the defeat in war of his own state." That fatal tragedy was, of course, far from over, and would indeed become more cruel over the years of Nazi atrocities and Stalinist restoration. Berkhoff's account shows a people pushed to the limits of endurance by systematic dehumanization, and, in its painstaking, scholarly way, shows that tyranny victimizes the soul as well as the body by creating a climate of mistrust. The culture of hatred and denunciation was the fruit of Stalin's soulcraft; the Nazi forces then liberated traditional forms of ethnic hatred and anti-Semitism from their social restraints. Berkhoff stresses that social "atomization" under Nazi rule "was not total," but admits that "the balance still tilted toward social disunity" and brutalization. To be a beast, just as to be a saint, man needs encouragement; this book paints a picture of the triumph, in one time and place, of the dark angels.





■ In *The Unmasking of Oscar Wilde* (Ignatius, 412 pp., $19.95), literary biographer Joseph Pearce offers a fresh perspective on the man of letters and gay icon: "'We are all in the gutter,' says Lord Darlington in *Lady Windermere's Fan*, 'but some of us are looking at the stars.' To look for Wilde in the gutter, whether to wallow with him in the mire or to point the finger of self-righteous scorn, is to miss the point. Those wishing a deeper understanding of this most enigmatic of men should not look *at* him in the gutter but *with* him at the stars."

■ In 1979, historian Jean-Baptiste Duroselle published *France and the Nazi Threat: The Collapse of French Diplomacy 1932-1939*. This fascinating work, now available in an English translation (Enigma, 508 pp., $26) by Catherine E. Dop and Robert L. Miller, recounts in detail the creation of a truly catastrophic foreign policy.

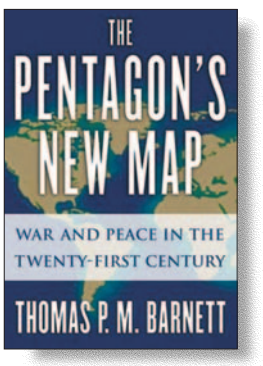
■ *Something Will Come Along: Witty Memoirs of a Foreign Service Officer with Nine Children* (Ivy House, 200 pp., $24.95) is the autobiography of diplomat Malcolm Lawrence, an engaging book about an American family's life both abroad and at home.

—MICHAEL POTEMRA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Core is North America, Europe, and Japan (the "old" Core—the pillars of Globalization II); and Russia, India, China, Brazil, Chile, and Argentina (the "new" Core—the emerging pillars of Globalization III). The Gap includes the rest of South America, most of Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia. Before 9/11, U.S. policymakers acted in accordance with a "rule set" that focused on inter-state conflict within the Core and consigned security concerns within the Gap to the status of "lesser included cases."

Policymakers in both the Clinton and Bush administrations failed to anticipate 9/11 not primarily because of intelligence bungles, important as they may have been, but because their attention was focused elsewhere. The former saw globalization as a global panacea, and ignored its failures in the Gap; the latter focused on preventing the emergence of a competing great power—e.g., China—in the Core. These rules left much of the Gap—the "disconnected" regions of the world—in a brutal Hobbesian state of nature. Led by educated elites—such figures as Osama bin Laden, who desired to keep their regions disconnected from globalization and American "empire"—the Gap struck directly at the Core. In Barnett's view, 9/11 was the revenge of the "lesser includeds."



For Barnett, the key to future global security and prosperity is for the Core to "shrink" the Gap. Managing the Gap—a containment policy—is not enough: Such an approach further reduces what little connection the Gap has with the Core and renders it more dangerous to the Core. The Core must export security into the Gap, providing the stability necessary for integration with the rest of the world; otherwise, the Gap will continue to export terrorism to the Core. Barnett argues that al-Qaeda is a pure product of the Gap—in effect, its most violent feedback to the Core; and 9/11 was bin Laden's attempt to create a "systems perturbation" in the Core so that he would be able to take the Islamic world "off line" from globalization. For Barnett, the proper strategic response to 9/11 is to create a countervailing systems perturbation in the Gap—which is exactly what the Bush administration did by striking Afghanistan and Iraq.

The book's most important contribution is in its implications for future U.S. military force structure. If the Gap truly constitutes the "expeditionary theater" of U.S. foreign policy, are the services investing in the right things? Heretofore, the services have preferred to prepare for high-end, state-centric conflict; Barnett suggests that they rethink their priorities.

Barnett is optimistic about the blessings of globalization; he believes it can create prosperity anywhere only if it creates prosperity everywhere. Indeed one of the book's weaknesses is that it is too optimistic, discounting the likelihood of great-power conflict: Barnett repeatedly ridicules the Bush administration's pre-9/11 focus on China. Sounding very much like a latter-day Norman Angell, whose 1910 book, *The Great Illusion*, published to great acclaim, argued that war was unthinkable since economically interdependent states had so much to lose from it, Barnett argues that China has nothing to gain and everything to lose from war with the U.S. This is reminiscent of the political atmosphere surrounding the 1911 Agadir crisis, as Winston Churchill described it in his memoir, *The World Crisis*: "[War] is too foolish, too fantastic, to be thought of in the 20th Century . . . Civilization has climbed above such perils. The interdependence of nations in trade [and other developments were thought to have] rendered such nightmares impossible."

The optimists, it turned out, were wrong. So while Barnett is right to notice that the U.S. paid too little attention to the Gap, it would be a mistake now to reverse the error and focus exclusively on the Gap to the exclusion of the Core. As Barnett himself points out, there are looming fissures within the Core that could lead to serious problems. But in the Core, the old rules can continue; in the Gap, new ones based on preemption and counterterrorism are necessary. If policymakers fail to realize this, the rule misalignment of the 1990s will persist—and the terrorists will only get stronger. NR

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT
NRO
nationalreviewONLINE
"I visit NRO at least once every day, both for enlightenment and for pleasure. It's simply invaluable." —Norman Podhoretz
www.nationalreview.com

Classic Leadership Principles
by Whitson G. Waldo

This book examines principles of leadership that have endured through the ages and that are still used successfully today. This book will make anyone a stronger and more effective leader.
Available from bookstores nationwide and internet retailers.
© 2004 • 260 pages • Hardcover • $34.95
ISBN 1-59299-045-2 • www.inkwaterpress.com

FOUNDED 1964
Catholic Traditionalist Movement, Inc.
If you cannot physically attend a TRADITIONAL LATIN ROMAN CATHOLIC MASS, the next best thing is to join one spiritually by visiting AN INTERNET WEBSITE WITH AROUND-THE-CLOCK VIDEO LATIN MASS
www.latinmass-ctm.org as presented by the CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT, INC.
Father Gommar A. De Pauw, J.C.D.
Founder - President
210 Maple Avenue
Westbury, New York 11590
Tel. (516) 333-6470
Fax. (516) 333-7535

Bargain Books
Shop America's *biggest* catalog selection, and save up to 80%!
● Choose from thousands of titles. For every booklover on a budget. Hardcover books starting at $2.95.
● Politics, Biography, History, Personal Finance, Sports–67 subject areas.
Free Catalog:
1-800-677-3483
Edward R. Hamilton, *Bookseller*
597 Oak, Falls Village CT 06031-5005
www.erhbooks.com/fxg

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CITY DESK ■

Local Favorite

RICHARD BROOKHISER

The old place was strictly a neighborhood restaurant in the West Village. The décor was a combination of New Jersey basement rathskeller and *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*. Stygian gloom prevailed; the wall behind the bar was hung with strange pointy objects. Christmas lights drew attention to the darkness, instead of diminishing it: a dance band at a funeral. The neighbors might have called the place cozy, and they would not have been wrong. At neighborhood restaurants, the food and the décor are barely even an issue; you go because nothing changes, and because you are known. The maitre d' gives you your table, the bartender gives you your drink, the waitress gives you a smile. But then, the old place committed the ultimate act of betrayal: It closed.

She had been looking to open a restaurant for a long time; a space in Tribeca had shimmered in the air until it vanished, a casualty in the Thirty Years' War that is landlord-tenant relations in New York. Then the West Village space became available, and she pounced. Her partner is a well-known young chef, perhaps even younger than she is. His reputation would guarantee a quick burst out of the gate; their partnership would keep him from being snapped up by someone else, the career path of well-known young chefs. Work and luck would have to do the rest.

A week before the opening, the place was a construction site. Captain Nemo had departed, but nothing definite had yet followed him. An artist knelt before a rear wall, painting a light surface with a dark brown network of lines, to suggest that the wall was made of boards sawed from centuries-old trees. Redwoods, the owners joked. Tell people you had to clear-cut them to put in the toxic-waste dump, I suggested helpfully.

The purchase price had included the fully equipped kitchen: a space in which a few narrow paths threaded between, at waist level, bulky appliances; at head level, past racks of dangling equipment—pots, pans, ladles, lids, skimmers, colanders, a chinoise (a deep conical sieve for clarifying consommé). Since the kitchen in my apartment is the size of a wheelchair-accessible stall in a public restroom, this kitchen looked spacious to me. There were even two windows, which only a ferret could get through, but which gave glimpses of garbage-can- and equipment-crowded backyards: vistas.

The menu was to be mostly seafood. The cuisine was to be Mediterranean, which embraces a lot of countries, but does exclude elk steak and pad thai (the failure to rule anything out being the downfall of all world strategies, whether of food or music). The price point—the amount that the average customer could expect to drop, minus booze—was set at $25.00: higher than a neighborhood place, which meant that, in order to justify the extra expense, the new place would have to make itself a little hip. In this, it would be fighting the saturnine gravity of the West Village. The last free spirit who lived there was Edna St. Vincent Millay (Dawn Powell wrote about pseudo-free spirits). Today's West Villagers may vote Green, Communist, or Libertarian, but they cling to their little leaseholds carved out by the rent-control laws like peasants in a Hardy novel. When at last they die away or sell out, they are replaced by rich people. The very architecture of the new place resonated with the surrounding anti-hipness, the cast-iron pillars, exposed brick walls, and pressed-tin ceilings within calling out to the Belgian block streets, slate sidewalks, and gingkos beyond the doors.

Six days after the opening was a Tuesday night—the worst night in the week for eating out (Monday begins the week, Wednesday and Thursday begin the weekend, Friday and Saturday are the weekend, Sunday ends the weekend). The hipness problem had been triumphantly solved, by hanging that gay-nineties ceiling with a chandelier, and several smaller fixtures, of square-cut wavy Murano glass, shining with all the kitschy elegance of the Kennedy administration. Bond, James Bond, might come in at any moment. Many real people had come instead, filling the small tables on the sidewalk out front to enjoy the suddenly mild air, filling up the bar, and beginning to fill in the front of the dining area. My wife and I took a table at the back, ordered the special and eavesdropped. There was one woman with a laugh like an air horn, and two young men talking loudly of bonds and doing business in eastern Europe (I noted one description of a maneuver of which they were especially proud: " . . . so unbelievably legitimate it's ridiculous"). All other conversation was the indistinguishable hubbub of people, most of them strangers to each other, eating together, the communion of secular life. The legs of our waitress were taller than my wife, and she wore a skirt the size of a large belt.

The kitchen bustled with Mayans. The chef said they had sold 260 covers at brunch and dinner on Sunday, including ten of the dinner special, a double portion of spaghetti with meatballs (square as hip). At the door, on my way out, I studied the laminated reviews from *Time Out* and *New York*, our *Weekly Reader*s.

Will the new place make it? Opening a restaurant is a leap of faith, for the failure rate is staggering; you have better odds running for president. The opening sprint is gratifying, but then come the next eleven months of the year, when the curious who dropped in to check you out must return, and when the tweaks you added to lend pizzazz must not prove to be so extreme that they pall. A restaurant like the new place has to impress its public as fun and satisfying—a neighborhood place in the mental neighborhood of Good Times. The three-judge panel that hands down the verdict is composed of Taste, Boredom, and Experience (have we seen those tricks before? Do we like other, older tricks better?). Good luck! **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

classified advertisements

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$400 WEEKLY ASSEMBLING PRODUCTS. For free information, send SASE: Home assembly—NR Box 216, New Britain, CT 06050-0216

FOR SALE

1911 CENTURY DICTIONARY & CYCLOPEDIA

12 Volumes—10,000 Pages
500,000+ Definitions, Huge Atlas
Greatest Ever American Dictionary on 2 CD Roms—$49.99
PrincetonImaging.com/cdrom/century

UNRAVEL A MYSTERY! Armchair Detectives call for a free catalogue of vintage to '70s mystery books. E-mail Cloak & Dagger: siralewker@aol.com or phone 845-371-6739.

BUMPER STICKER "FRUITCAKE BY HEINZ" 3 FOR $5, 7 FOR $10. Stickerspeak.com, P.O. Box 105, Falls Village, CT 06031

HOTELS

SAVE on hotels and resorts.
www.BidonTravel.com

"Rated One of New York City *'Best Value'* Hotels." ... *Zagats*

New York's all suite hotel is located in the heart of the city, near corporations, theatre & great restaurants. Affordable elegance with all the amenities of home.

MURRAY HILL EAST SUITES
149 E. 39th St. (Bet 3rd & Lex) New York, NY 10016
Reservations 1-800-248-9999
Ask about our special National Review rates.

LITERARY

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK. IVY HOUSE PUBLISHING GROUP. All Subjects Considered. 1-800-948-2786.
www.ivyhousebooks.com

MY STORY

Software to write your autobiography and biographies for others. $39.95 plus $6.95 for S/H. To order call 1-800-446-8683.

OPPORTUNITIES

TAKE CHARGE! WITH POWERFUL, TIMELY, EASILY UNDERSTOOD SOLUTIONS. www.healthanswers.info 972-661-9689

Your Point of View: Seen by Millions!
Submission deadline for the 2005 season is June 30, 2004!
Public television's premiere showcase for independent, non-fiction film and video seeks programs from all perspectives to showcase in annual national PBS series. All subjects, styles, and lengths are welcome. Unfinished films and videos may be eligible for completion funds.

For guidelines, application, or to apply online visit the P.O.V. website:
www.pbs.org/pov/callforentries
or call 1-800-756-3300 ext. 380

POLITICAL

ROUTE 66 COMMISSIONING INITIATIVE
Help return America's most famous highway to The Nation's road atlases! For further information go to
www.bringbackroute66.com

Congress Voting Tracker
FREE database to view, print, analyze Congress voting records!
www.congressvoting.com

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

COLLECTIONS
Professional • Courteous • Thorough
- Accounts and NSF Checks
- Pay only for Results
- Small Contingency Fee

No-Charge Fee Quotes
Revenue Security Services
Toll Free: 1-800-276-0696
Toll Free Fax: 1-866-808-6124
E-mail: marketing@revenuesecurity.net
Member of the American Collectors Association

VACATION RENTALS

Squam Lake, New Hampshire. Two waterfront homes. One sleeps 12 and another sleeps 8. No pets. References. $2,200 per week. Call 860-567-5377.

WEBSITES

WEIRDREPUBLIC.COM—Defending traditional wedlock. Best-ever arguments against gay marriage.

NR CLASSIFIED INFO: 212-679-7330

THE OFFICIAL NR WINDSHIRT

Comfortable.
Classy.
Waterproof.
Microfiber.
Nylon-lined.
Sizes L–XL.
Khaki on Navy Blue.
Only $49.95.

Each windshirt $49.95. Add $3 per order for shipping and handling charges.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ **Zip** _____
Number of shirts: _____
Shirt sizes: _____

PAYMENT METHOD
❑ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")
Bill to: ❑ MasterCard ❑ Visa
Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
* Total payment $ _____

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

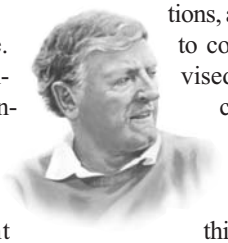
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Amendments Radical?

NEW YORK, APRIL 13

A commentator recently ran his mind over the gay-marriage issue. He is opposed to same-sex marriage but squeamish about a constitutional amendment. Amendments, he said, were too radical an approach to the problem. This attitude provokes thought about the Constitution, framed other than on the difficulty or the undesirability of amendments.

The Constitution became, over the years following the rugged debate over its ratification, something more merely than an organizational table of rules and regulations. People taking public office in America bind themselves to defend the Constitution, which is correct, even as it is correct to defend the law.



But of course laws change. There is a solemnity that attaches to an oath to defend the Constitution, and the reason for it is that, over generations, the Constitution achieved a kind of moral authority that went beyond merely the accumulation of laws and traditions. To amend the Constitution is thought by many to tamper with a holy covenant. The only people who can do that are the priests. There are nine of them, and they sit on the Supreme Court. The way to amend the Constitution, it is accepted by most of our clerisy, is to interpret existing language in such a way as to accommodate the desired reform.

The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts exemplifies the point. Four of its members ruled last November that the practice in the state, in the matter of marriage, was not congruent with the equal-protection clause of the Massachusetts constitution, which reflects principles inherent in the U.S. Constitution. The man-from-Mars reaction to that decision would have been: You must be crazy! You are telling us that the Constitution prohibits special civil sanctions applying to married people? That reaction to the court decision is absolutely healthy, but it no longer works. Because the Constitution is held to be venerable, and its reaches, undeniable. In the scheme of things, the Massachusetts court is telling the state legislature that a failure to "marry" same-sex couples violates the constitution of Massachusetts, and by extension the Constitution of the United States.

So what is an aroused public supposed to do?

At a local level, one needs to amend the constitution of Massachusetts to the desired effect: to specify that a "marriage," as contracted under the state's law, is a union between a man and a woman.

It is in motion to enact such an amendment, but the difficulties are manifest. Just to begin with, it would not be until 2006 that the reform could be done. That leaves two years in which same-sex unions will be sanctioned. And to undo these would raise constitutional questions and questions, also, of justice. If two men decide to contract a marriage under the revised understanding in Massachusetts, and two years later they are advised that the status quo ante has been reimposed, how, if we intend to do the fair thing, can the privileges they contracted be taken from them?

We are reaping a whirlwind, and direct intervention in the holy tabernacle of the U.S. Constitution is eminently justified. Either that, or we will simply be surrendering the evolution of the law into the hands of the judiciary.

There is nothing in sight, given the decision of the Massachusetts court, and the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court last June overturning the Texas sodomy law, to curb the evolution of "marriage" to signify simply an affectionate relationship between two or more people, with cross commitments of one kind or another. The rules for entering into such a union—man-man, woman-woman, widowed sisters, father and son—might differ here and there, so long as those differences were not held to violate the equal-protection clause of the Constitution, or other of its provisions. In the absence of an amendment, the fight is simply abandoned, and Darwinian mutations are, if not exactly encouraged, nevertheless indulged.

To argue that a constitutional amendment is radical, while acquiescence in the anarchy of the Massachusetts court is less than that, staggers the mind. It has become easier to amend the Sermon on the Mount than the Constitution, and it is strange and awful that passivity is urged in a republic of free people.

Press Conference Aweigh

NEW YORK, APRIL 16

SUPPORTERS of our enterprise in Iraq are whispering to themselves, "What could Bush do to impress on the world the importance of our undertaking?" Nowhere has a formula been suggested that would seem to guarantee conversion, by the skeptic, to the cause. Galvanizing rhetorical calls to action are usually honored as such after the fact, as in the late recognition of Lincoln's Gettysburg address. Bush is not a poet, but it isn't safely assumed that, if he were, the language would be sufficient to inspirit the unconvinced in the Iraq cause.

"I hope today you've got a sense of my conviction about what we're doing," Mr. Bush said to his final questioner at his press conference. "If you don't, maybe I need to learn to communicate better. I feel strongly about what we're doing."

This was the point that Bush stressed at that conference: the strength of his own conviction. But even those who do not question the sincerity of his conviction are not necessarily moved by it. On the contrary, some of his critics are indignant and even inflamed by it. That much is human nature: If the leader stresses the purity of his own thought, dissenters are being asked to consider the impurity of theirs. How do such conflicts get settled? Mr. Bush has a very clear answer to that question: by democratic elections. He told the journalists that he was certain the American people would back him by returning him to office in November.

A day later, the contender, Senator Kerry, showed that it would not be easy to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appease those Americans who are flat-out opposed to our mission in Iraq. Kerry is saying that Bush was disorganized in his preparation for the crisis, undiscriminating in his choice of targets, ill-prepared for the challenge that evolved, and—anything else one can think of. But the challenger is careful not to disparage Bush's motives for our mission in Iraq and emphatic that we cannot at this stage walk away from it. If the election were being held tomorrow, the voters would be registering simply whether they like the feel of Bush at the helm, or would prefer Kerry. Not whether we should pull out of Iraq.

Mr. Bush is entitled to wonder about whether he communicates best in the press-conference situation. This was his first prime-time press conference since the Iraq war began, and clearly he was uncomfortable. He handled himself competently, and there was no mistaking his resolution of purpose, if that was one of the questions the press wished to plumb.

There were, though, irritating moments. Sometimes Mr. Bush will simply not answer the question. This is hardly a unique problem: It was often impossible to decipher what President Eisenhower was trying to say. But Ike's trick was a fog of subordinate thoughts which mystified the listener, leaving him, if not informed, at least not resentful. By contrast, Bush is incisive in his phrasing, but that does not mean he is answering the question. When asked whether the Iraq experience put one in mind of Vietnam, he said that "the analogy is false," but 200 words later, he had not said why. The cow will jump over the moon before Bush volunteers an answer to how it is we were deceived about the presence of weapons of mass destruction; or, for that matter, how it is that we misreckoned the fractious behavior of the resistance.

The evolution of the presidential press conference is interesting. Up until Eisenhower, no transcripts were permitted: only paraphrases of what had been said. The thought was that presidential commentary shouldn't be exactly deciphered because to do so discouraged spontaneity on the one hand, and on the other encouraged partisans, clinging to discrete sentences, to attach to them such self-serving constructions as they sought out.

Mr. Bush's discomfort has resulted, simply, in an infrequency of exposure. But he more than once told the assembly that he looks forward to campaigning. And that means a full season of questions and answers—including debates. That will be a very open season.

Dead Diplomacy

NEW YORK, APRIL 20

THIS morning we learned that the King of Jordan snubbed the President of the United States. He was angered, the press said, by Mr. Bush's moves on the Israel question. What Bush did was 1) back General Sharon on his proposed removal of Israeli military from the Gaza Strip, 2) reject the Palestinian contention that there was a "right of return" of descendants of the 1948 dispossessed, and 3) advise that the U.S. would have no objection to Israel's retaining several large settlements in the West Bank. So? The king canceled his proposed stay in Washington.

If you think Jordan's King Abdullah was acting precipitately, you have lost count of recent diplomatic currents and crosscurrents. Jordan's rebuff came after a week of excoriations by Egypt's Hosni Mubarak. It is serious business to antagonize Mubarak, though one wonders whether he would be irritated to the point of declining our subsidy for him of $2 billion per year. (My occasional reminder to myself of the magnitude of sums of money followed by nine zeroes: If the day Christ died you set out to give $1 million every year to your favorite charity, you would not yet have spent $2 billion.) Complicity by Egypt made possible the great meeting between Sadat and Begin, though almost everything since then has gone sour.

The diplomatic thicket . . . thickened. A few weeks ago, an Israeli helicopter bore down on Sheik Yassin, the venerable leader of the Hamas movement. A few hours passed before the U.S. condemned the killing pursuant to our general line that targeted assassinations of leaders should not be permitted. That delay galled the Palestinians. From this, the administration learned a lesson, so that when four weeks later the Israelis assassinated Yassin's successor, Dr. Abdel Aziz Rantisi, the White House was much quicker in repudiating the act, inasmuch as the U.S. is "gravely concerned for regional peace and stability."

The Arab world is entitled to wonder at the consistency of U.S. concern for regional peace, Mr. Bush having, without notice, ceded the West Bank settlements to which we had been so vociferously opposed. That concession, we learn, reflected yet another diplomatic demarche. Sharon was bound to Washington for a visit with Bush. Sharon passed along the word that unless we proceeded with the approvals he wished, he would delay the visit. Or cancel it? Imagine, the burden at one and the same time of a standoff in Fallujah, and a boycott from Israel!

Bush has problems here which diplomatic deftness can't easily cure. Israel is not formally at war with the Palestinian Authority, but such liberties as it has been taking by assassinating Hamas leaders are not easy for the U.S. to repudiate as inherently abhorrent. In 1943 we shot down Admiral Yamamoto in his airplane. Not because he was just any Japanese admiral, but because he had planned Pearl Harbor. Sharon understandably wants to shoot down any leader of an organization that claims Israeli victims in its terrorist offensive. And the U.S. will continue to bemoan these assassinations. After a while, the whole thing can be put on software.

What Bush cannot ease himself out of is the sense of betrayal brought on by surrendering in the matter of the settlements. If the president has reasoned that leaving Gaza alone will make up for that West Bank surrender, he cannot hope that Gaza will bring on a regenerated Palestinian community in time to affect the larger matters pending. They are: the drift of opinion by young Muslims urged to consider western alternatives of freedom and self-rule; and by older, professionally antagonistic ideologues, who are saying that the U.S. cannot be trusted.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

"No, I don't think that giving them free will is evading responsibility."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Safe, Legal, and Rare . . . Oh My!

A DECADE ago, Elizabeth Taylor was going from one celebrity AIDS rally to another urging us to make sure we "use a condom every time you have sex, every time." *Every* time, Liz? Apparently so, until one day mankind is extinct and giant condoms roam the earth, bouncing across the ruins of our civilization like playful prophylactics in animated Scandinavian health-ministry announcements.

The spirit of Liz lurked just below the surface at Washington's Million Abortionist March, or whatever it was called. For people who talked endlessly about "reproductive rights," they seemed remarkably indifferent, if not downright hostile, to exercising them.

I concede that I'm anti-abortion. If I were pro-abortion, I'd probably sound like Teresa Heinz Kerry, who told *Newsweek* that the act involves "stopping the process of life" but that "I ask myself, 'If I had a 13-year-old daughter who got drunk one night and got pregnant, what would I do?'" If I had to go a bit further, I might even sign on to her husband's line ("safe, legal, rare," blah, blah, nuanced boilerplate, zzzzzzz).

But, if I can just about conceive (if you'll forgive the expression) the leap from my position to Teresa's and from Teresa's to Senator Flippy's, I can't imagine how you'd get from Senator Flippy's to the bulk of the sentiments on display at the big march itself. Whoopi Goldberg brandishing a coat hanger. Surly women stomping about with "Keep Your Bush Off My Bush" placards. The decay of a fluffy soft-focus euphemism into just another crude insult: "If Only Barbara Bush Had Choice." The freaky, barely grasped meaning of all those speakers' regrets that their own mothers never enjoyed the freedoms they have—as Maxine Waters put it, "I have to march because my mother could not have an abortion." The casual dismissal of half the human race: "The Opinions of Those with Nothing At Stake Are Worth Little"; "If Men Got Pregnant, They'd Make Abortion a Sacrament."

Actually, it's the sisterhood who've made abortion the sacrament for a brave new religion of the self. Had Teresa Heinz Kerry stood up and read out her *Newsweek* quotes, she'd have been booed: No one on the Mall wanted to hear about the agonized parents of distraught adolescents helping them to the soi-disant "difficult personal decision." Abortion isn't difficult or agonizing, but something to be celebrated, the central freedom of a modern woman's identity.

Washington, D.C., April 25

RICK STEELE/ZUMA

Before the century is out, the Left will come to regret the conflation of feminism and abortion.

When a young lady demands that our Bush be kept off her bush, she's referring to political interference in a "woman's right to choose." In fact, it's the abortion absolutists who insist on political intervention. Abortion has to be legislated uniformly, coast to coast—and beyond: Half the complaints about Bush's "war on women" revolve around his disinclination to spend taxpayers' dollars promoting abortion overseas. Which raises the question: Leaving aside the moral questions, what is the state's interest in abortion?

The answer to that is obvious: The most urgent problem facing the Western world right now is the big lack of babies. On the Continent, abortion is part of the settled political consensus and its persistence as an issue over here is seen as further evidence—along with guns, capital punishment, and functioning militaries—of American backwardness. The result is collapsed birthrates in Mediterranean countries of around 1.1, 1.2 children per couple—that's to say, about half of what's called "replacement rate." Why be surprised that Spanish voters don't have the stomach for war? To fight for king and country is to fight for the future, for your nation, for its children. But Spain has no children, and thus no future. What's to fight for?

Even if you subscribe to the premise of *Roe* vs. *Wade*—that abortion is a privacy issue—society as a whole has no interest in elevating a "woman's right to choose" to state policy. The government's interest lies in increasing birthrates, to avoid the death spiral of post-Catholic Italy. If any Democrat understands that, she or he is in no hurry to speak up.

Which leads to the next question: Who will be the first victims of the West's collapsed birthrates? In Europe, the only country still exercising its "reproductive rights" at replacement rate is Muslim Albania. The rest of the continent is dependent on immigration mainly from North Africa and the Middle East. In other words, by exercising a "woman's right to choose" to the present, unprecedented degree, Western women are delivering their societies into the hands of fellows far more patriarchal than a 1950s sitcom dad. If any of those women at that Washington march still have babies, they might like to ponder demographic realities: A little girl born today will be unlikely, at the age of 40, to be free to prance around demonstrations in Eurabian Paris or Rome chanting "Hands off my bush!"

By then, Gloria Steinem will be 110, and no doubt still looking incredibly hot, but even she will be sadder and wiser. The hyper-rationalism of radical individualism isn't, in the end, rational at all. You'll recall that during the Iraq war, we heard a lot of talk about ancient Mesopotamia—the land of the Sumerians, Akkadians, and Hittites—being "the cradle of civilization." That's the point. Without a cradle, it's hard to sustain a civilization. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOUND: GLADIATOR'S ORIGINAL PAYCHECK

HOLD THE GLORY OF ROME IN THE PALM OF YOUR HANDS

The old saying "don't judge a book by it's cover" is more than just idle advice. It also led to a truly amazing treasure discovery that can put the glory and splendor of ancient Rome into the palm of your hands! During a recent construction project in northern Turkey, a dirt-encrusted earthen jar was uncovered. The curious worker was about to throw the filthy thing away as nothing more than trash. But then something made him tug on the old cloth visible through the cracks. To his surprise, a pile of coins spilled out. His discovery is now your opportunity because these weren't just any coins—they were scarce historic Roman Commemorative coins that had been buried 1,670 years ago!

COMMEMORATING THE FOUNDING OF ROME

Just who buried these coins is still a mystery. It could have been a Roman soldier, a merchant or even a barbarian chieftain who had been given the coins as a bribe not to wage war on Rome. What is known is that these coins were first issued in 330 AD by Emperor Constantine the Great. They were struck to honor the city of Rome as the cultural center of the Roman Empire in what has to be one of the most successful marketing campaigns in history. Constantine used these coins as an effective public relations ploy as he moved the capital from Rome to his new city, aptly named Constantinople. To honor the founding of his new capital—and to soothe the hearts of Roman identity—these *"Urbs Roma"* (City of Rome) bronze coins were handed out during the consecration ceremony for Constantinople on May 11, 330. Some experts of ancient coins agree that no other Roman coin was ever struck for such a specific event making the City of Rome coin ***the FIRST Commemorative Coin of the Roman Empire!***

STUNNING DESIGN

The detailed design of this coin is a history lesson and an epic folk tale rolled into one. For the first time, the obverse of a Roman coin did not show the portrait of the emperor. Instead, it showed the bust of Roma, goddess of the City of Rome, wearing a crested helmet. She is surrounded in Roman letters VRBS ROMA to signify the tribute to the City of Rome. The coin's reverse vividly depicts the origin of Rome—a she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. In Roman legend, Romulus and Remus, the twin sons of the war god Mars, laid the foundation of Rome in the Seven Hills near the Tiber River. Romulus built his own city wall, killed his jealous brother and assumed dominion over the settlement. Roman historians traditionally set the date of Rome's founding at 753 BC. The image of the she-wolf and the twins became the symbol of the city of Rome. In addition to the scene, two stars appear above the she-wolf, which refer to Rome's perpetualness.

LIMITED QUANTITIES AVAILABLE

More than sixteen centuries old, this stunning coin has survived the rise and fall of empires, earthquakes, floods and two world wars. It was carried by everyone from Roman emperors to soldiers and from merchants to peasants. There's no better way to touch the history of the great Roman Empire than to hold the coins of that era literally in the palm of your hand. This classic Roman coin is perfect for novice enthusiasts, seasoned coin collectors, students and anyone who has ever been moved by the romance, beauty and rich history of Rome. Unfortunately, quantities are extremely limited. Demand is certain to be overwhelming so call now for your best chance at obtaining this historic piece of the Roman Empire.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

Imagine owning the first commemorative coin of the world's first superpower! Compare that to the first U.S. commemorative, the 1892 Columbian Exposition Half-Dollar, which sells for over $700 in Brilliant Uncirculated condition. You could expect to pay hundreds of dollars for this "City of Rome" coin. Fortunately for you, we were able to secure the rights for the entire hoard allowing us to make them available at the very affordable price of only $37.50 per coin. You can also buy three coins for only $99. Your "City of Rome" Bronze Coin will be protected in a clear acrylic holder and comes mounted in a deluxe presentation case. You'll also receive an all-important Certificate of Authenticity. The First Federal Mint is so sure of the lasting value of these antiquities that we will repurchase your coins at any time in the next 24 months at the full purchase price.

RESERVE YOUR COIN TODAY!

These "City of Rome" Bronze Coins are not available in stores. Do not let this chance to own an important piece of history at such a low price pass you by. Call now to reserve your coin. Orders will be accepted on a strict first-call, first-served basis. Sold-out orders will be promptly refunded.

Each Coin is over 1,600 years old with VERY limited quantities—Order Now!

City of Rome Bronze Coin $37.50 +S&H

TOLL-FREE 24 HOURS A DAY

1-800-386-7187

Promotional Code CRB119-01

Please mention Promotional Code when you call.

We can also accept your check by phone.
To order by mail call for details.

FIRST FEDERAL MINT

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. CRB119-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

WWW.FIRSTFEDERALMINT.COM **1-800-386-7187**

Note: The First Federal Mint, LLC is a private distributor of government and private coin and medallic issues and is not affiliated with the United States Government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THANKS TO HIS STUBBORNNESS, THE WASTE ON THIS TRUCK CAN BE USED TO FUEL IT.

Patrick Foody Sr. is a determined man. Some 30 years ago, he had a visionary idea. He would produce ethanol, a vital ingredient in transportation fuels, from agricultural wastes like cereal straws and cornstalks. Contemporaries doubted him. Initial attempts were costly. Still, Pat and his colleagues at Iogen Corporation pressed on. After much dogged persistence, and with help from Shell, they found ways to make large-scale production a commercial reality. It may be a while yet before alternatives such as EcoEthanol™ can become a major source of energy. But by seeking out partners like Pat, we're hoping to bring that day a step closer. For more information, visit www.shell.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED